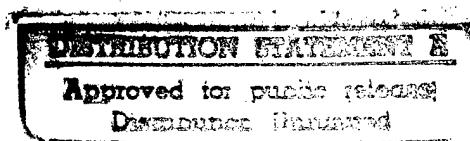


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17 August 1983



China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 448

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17 August 1983

CHINA REPORT
 POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 448

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GENERAL

BEIJING URGING SMALL POLITICAL PARTIES TO BECOME MORE ACTIVE

Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 30 Jun 83 p 9

[Article by Gunnar Filseth: "Beijing Lets Small Parties Live in Shadow of Communist Party"]

[Text] Peking 29 June. After many years of forced hibernation, China's small noncommunist parties have come to life again. They are eight in all and call themselves such names as China's Democratic League" and the "Chinese Federation for Advancement of Democracy." Officially all eight parties are jointly called the "democratic parties." They have received permission to recruit new members and now have over 10,000 total--however, a trifling figure in relation to the total membership of the Communist Party of almost 40 million people. But they do receive significant publicity. Are they anything but windup dressing?

Most of the eight small parties were formed in the 1940's and were allowed to continue because they supported the Communist takeover in 1949. During the Cultural Revolution, they were condemned as being reactionary and counterrevolutionary and many of the members received bad treatment.

Today the "democratic parties" are encouraged to a new life--with certain conditions. They lack, however, political power. The Communist Party wants to keep that for itself..Does this new element in the political picture serve anything but propaganda purposes?

The "democrats" play a very important role assures China's official media. They are to coexist with the Communists in order to promote national unity and economic modernization. But the role is clearly defined: they can give advice--but nothing more.

The main objective is to help the Communist Party with "advice" and reflect the views of important social groups. It is agreed that the eight "democratic parties" are at the same time "under the leadership of the Communist Party."

Once a year there is a parliamentary session in China: the National Congress comes together. At the same time over 1,000 of the leading "democratic" party members meet with approximately the same number from

the Communist Party. This is called the "Chinese People's Political Advisory Conference," a kind of supplement to the national assembly. Last week ended both the annual plenary sessions of the National Congress and the Advisory Conference which lasted 17 days.

Varied Crowd

At the Advisory Conference a very varied crowd was to be found--from communist revolutionary veterans to former capitalists and previous Chiang Kaishek generals who were sentenced for war crimes after 1949. Along with them were religious leaders--among them was a "living Buddha"--sport stars, only to name a few.

Officially it was said that the Communist Party, along with the eight "democratic parties," form a "National Solidarity Front." The goal was to "bring the socialist democracy to a full display" by having powers in the society that stand outside the Communist Party put in their two cents' worth.

Critical observers point out, however, that this is a rather thin democratic varnish. The conference has authority to promote proposals and exercise criticism but cannot make any decisions. It is to be the binding link between the Communist Party and the others but always supports the regime in well-groomed statements that receive broad publicity. In this way "national solidarity" is displayed.

Political Hostages?

Are the small parties in fact only political hostages? ask the critics. But perhaps they will be allowed to say more from now on--even if it only involves "advising." Up till now, the communists have been in a majority at the Advisory Conference but at the one that was appointed this year, which will be in effect until 1988, the "democrats" have received the majority, 60 percent against 40 percent. The new chairman is the 79-year-old Deng Yingchao, the widow of former Prime Minister Zhou Enlai. In addition, she is the only woman who is a full member of the communist Politburo.

Before the recruiting of new members for the "democratic parties" started, the "solidarity front" was viewed as somewhat of an old age home. A standing joke was: "the 80-year-olds are the leaders, the 70-year-olds are the main power, the 60-year-olds are the young cadets." A member in his seventies, Prof Lan Xisun, has explained it as follows: "An 80-year-old is not old, a 70-year-old is just right."

Old People

The slogan to give the young people a chance is a refrain which is repeated continually but it does not always rhyme with the practical aspect: when the Advisory Conference last week elected 29 vice chairmen, it came to light that over half of them were over 80--five were even over 90. Two of the vice chairmen, born in 1888, will have reached the age of 100 if they last through the 5-year term.

But now an addition of fresh blood will come, asserts General Secretary Gao Tian in "China's Democratic League." Last year, the party recruited over 3,000 new members and over half of those were "young people under 50 years of age." The league is the big brother among the small parties with 33,000 names in its member card index.

How does the recruiting of members take place? It came forth at a joint press conference, which the eight parties held, that not everyone can slip into the "democratic parties." Two party members must recommend the applicant. In addition, certain qualifications are required which vary from party to party. An overwhelming majority of the members come from the country's intelligentsia.

Interest Groups

The "democratic parties" have greater characteristics of being interest groups than actual political parties. China's Democratic League consists exclusively in intellectuals, among them 68 university and college chancellors. The Farmers' and Workers' Democratic Party has neither farmers nor workers among its 5,000 members but a large number of doctors and other people in the health sector. The party sees its main task the improvement of the health conditions in the provinces.

The Kuomintangs Revolution Committee is something special. It is a Left-oriented splinter group from Chiang Kaichek's anticommunist Kuomintang Party which continues to remain in power in Taiwan. The membership is over 4,000 and includes former Kuomintang figures and deserters from Taiwan, former industrial leaders and capitalists.

The eight parties take on practical work tasks. They operate, for example, night schools in Peking and send coworkers to various remote areas to make a contribution in educating the people. But it is difficult to take them very seriously as political organizations.

"No Quarrel"

At the press conference, Vice Chairman Sun Quiment of China's National Democratic Federation announced with pride that in China there is no "quarrel between the political parties when it comes to the question of who should be in power."

Then comes the question: Does he think that the Communist Party is the best and the best suited party to govern China? Yes, the party chairman thinks that.

If the Communist Party is the best suited party why did he not become a member of that party instead?

"We think that we can offer a contribution to the development without belonging to the Communist Party," was the answer.

Observers point out that one point in connection with this is that the Communist Party obviously does not want all who support its policy to be members. If they had meant it, the Communists could no longer talk about the "solidarity front" with the noncommunist powers in society. The "democratic parties" are to give the impression that the policy of the Communist Party is not only supported by communists but has a broader base. "The solidarity front," that is to say the whole nation, stands behind it.

One example of this method is Soongching Ling who was married to the founder of the Chinese republic, Sun Yatsen and enjoyed great prestige in all quarters. For decades she was one of the "solidarity front's" prominent figures. Early on she applied for membership in the Communist Party but only at her deathbed--she was 89-years-old--was her wish fulfilled.

Some observers question whether the actual position of the Communist Party to other political parties is the one that is expressed in newspaper articles criticizing people who have spoken up in favor of multiparty system. During the last 2 years, ordinary Chinese have made sporadic attempts to form political parties but the initiators have received clear messages to stop. Obviously Beijing feels that they can manage with the "democratic parties" they had before.

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CSO: 3639/146

GENERAL

SOVIET SUBMARINE'S RADIO BUOY FOUND IN GREENLAND

OW280218 Beijing XINHUA in English 0157 GMT 28 Jul 83

[Text] Stockholm, 27 July (XINHUA)--A radio-buoy belonging to a Soviet submarine has been discovered in the Fjord of Godthaab in Greenland, announced the Danish military authorities on the island today.

The radio-buoy, found one week ago and in the shape of a two-meter-long cylinder, was used by the Soviet submarine for communications with its homebase.

The discovery was made by a fisherman while fishing in the Fjord, according to a Danish News Agency report.

A communique released by the Danish military authorities said that the device from the Soviet ocean-going submarine was a normal radio-buoy used in communications.

It was still to be ascertained, it stated, whether the equipment came from an unidentified foreign submarine seen in the waters between Greenland's Biso Island and the Fastland [as received] on 15 July. Danish naval vessels searched the areas for the alien submarine but failed to force up the intruder.

In neighboring Sweden, Swedish warships are continuing the search for another intruding foreign submarine seen on 17 July in Tore Harbor near the northern city of Luleaa. A restricted military zone has been declared in Tore Harbor, where the 40-meter-wide entrance has been blocked with anti-submarine nets and some 10,000 logs.

Sweden has charged the Soviet Union for repeatedly sending submarines into its territorial waters for military surveillance but Moscow has rejected the accusation.

CSO: 4000/218

GENERAL

UN ECONOMIC COUNCIL SCORES S. AFRICA, ISRAEL

OW262021 Beijing XINHUA in English 0804 GMT 26 Jul 83

[Text] Geneva, 25 July (XINHUA)--The United Nations Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC), which met here this afternoon, overwhelmingly condemned South Africa and Israel for their aggressions against other countries.

A draft resolution endorsed at the second regular plenary session of the ECOSOC pointed out that the situation in southern Africa continues to present a serious threat to peace and security as a result of the Pretoria regime's intensified repression, its policy and practice of apartheid and other gross violations of human rights of the peoples of Namibia and South Africa and its armed aggression and military, political and economic destabilization directed against independent states in the region.

The action taken thus far by the UN organizations and agencies concerned in the provision of assistance to the people of Namibia is still far from adequate to meet their urgent and growing needs, it stressed.

The resolution denounced in strong terms the blatant aggression of the Pretoria regime in its bombing attack on Mozambique in the spring of 1983 and the frequent acts of destabilization by the regime against front-line states, which have resulted in a heavy loss of life, the creation of large numbers of refugees and massive destruction.

Another resolution adopted overwhelmingly at the meeting castigated the continued detention of Palestinian civilians in Al Ansar Camp by the Israeli invasion army.

It called on the relevant UN organizations to sustain and intensify their efforts, in cooperation with the Palestine Liberation Organization, in providing economic and social assistance to the Palestinian people.

CSO: 4000/218

GENERAL

BRIEFS

GENSCHER, MOJSOV HOLD TALKS--Bonn, 25 July (XINHUA)--Federal German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher and Yugoslav Secretary of Foreign Affairs Lazar Mojsov today ended their 2-day talks in Bischofsgruen, Federal Germany, with a pledge to make contributions to world stabilization and detente. Genscher said the agreement reached during the Madrid follow-up of the conference of European security and cooperation was conducive to creating an atmosphere beneficial to East-West contacts. Meanwhile, he criticized the Soviet Union for impeding the progress of the Geneva arms talks as it insisted on including the nuclear forces of Britain and France in the talks. Mojsov said Yugoslavia supports all proposals aimed to enable Europe to maintain a military balance at a lower level. He also said that Yugoslavia has no intention to suspend economic contacts with countries of the European economic community for the debts it owed them. Federal Germany and Yugoslavia hold regular talks every summer since 1976. [Text] [OW261627 Beijing XINHUA in English 1420 GMT 26 Jul 83]

CSO: 4000/218

UNITED STATES

U.S. HOUSE VOTES TO HALT AID TO NICARAGUA REBELS

OW291124 Beijing XINHUA in English 1110 GMT 29 Jul 83

[Text] Washington, 28 July (XINHUA)--The democratic-controlled House of Representatives tonight approved 228-195 a bill for a cutoff of all U.S. covert aid to anti-government guerrillas in Nicaragua. The vote came only 2 days after President Ronald Reagan made a public speech in which he defended the administration's policy toward Central America.

The bill, approved after 2 days of heated debate, would halt later this year all U.S. covert aid reportedly worth over 19 million dollars annually to more than 10,000 guerrillas fighting against the Nicaraguan Government. As a substitute, the bill recommended 80 million dollars to be given openly this year and next year to U.S. allies in Central America in order to cut Nicaraguan supply lines to guerrillas in those countries.

Since December 1981, the U.S. Government has given the covert aid to a growing number of anti-Nicaraguan forces on the grounds of checking arms flows from Nicaragua to El Salvador. The Nicaraguan Government has recently expressed its willingness to enter into regional talks for "a complete halt to arms supplies from any country to the belligerent forces in El Salvador."

The dispute in Congress over the aid has become a focus of public attention ever since the United States intensified its policy of intervention in Central America. Opponents in the House contended that the aid has been used to promote the overthrow of the Nicaraguan Government in violation of the Charter of the Organization of American States and that it would risk a war between Nicaragua and Honduras, where most of the U.S.-backed guerrillas are based.

House majority leader James Wright said that the Central Intelligence Agency's operations in Central America have caused growing apprehension in and protest from Latin American countries.

The bill now goes to the Republican-controlled Senate where it could hardly be approved.

CSO: 4000/221

UNITED STATES

U.S. AGREES TO ISRAELI REDEPLOYMENT IN LEBANON

OW292332 Beijing XINHUA in English 1449 GMT 29 Jul 83

[Text] Washington, 28 July (XINHUA)--The United States came to agree with Israel today on its planned troop redeployment in southern Lebanon despite Lebanon's opposition.

Speaking to reporters after a 30-minute meeting between President Ronald Reagan and Israeli Foreign Minister Yitzhaq Shamir and Defense Minister Moshe Arens, Secretary of State George Shultz said the Israelis had promised that the redeployment "is a first phase toward a total withdrawal in the context of the agreement" reached with Lebanon last May.

Israel decided on 20 July to withdraw its 25,000 troops from the Chouf mountains to a line along the Awali River, 30 kilometers south of Beirut.

But the Israeli decision received opposition from the Lebanese Government. During their visit to the United States last week Lebanese President Amin al-Jumayyil and Foreign Minister Elie Salim told U.S. officials and congressmen that Israeli decision on a partial pullback of its forces in Lebanon means a de facto partition of Lebanon.

During the 15-hour-long talks with the Israeli ministers in the past 3 days, Shultz said, "One of the things that came forward very strongly is that the redeployment is the first phase toward total withdrawal."

Shultz said he hoped the Israeli promise "will have some impact" on Syria, which so far has rejected Israeli-Lebanese agreement and refused to withdraw its troops from Lebanon.

Although Israel agreed to describe its troop redeployment as a first step total withdrawal, no specific timetable for its pullout from Lebanon was revealed by either U.S. or Israeli officials after their talks.

Briefing reporters, however, a senior administration official who preferred to remain anonymous acknowledged that the Israeli partial withdrawal had no direct relations with the implementation of the Israel-Lebanon agreement, which stipulated the Israeli withdrawal. Israeli Foreign Minister Shamir returned to Israel today and Defence Minister Arens is still here to continue discussions with U.S. Defense Minister Caspar Weinberger on military assistance and strategic cooperation.

UNITED STATES

BRIEFS

TEXTILE ACCORD IN GENEVA--Geneva, 30 July (XINHUA)--Chinese and U.S. negotiators agreed on the content of the second China-U.S. textile trade agreement here today after seven rounds of tough talks. The two countries are expected to exchange notes and officially sign the new agreement in the near future. The China-U.S. textile negotiations on the second agreement began in August 1982. The first textile trade agreement, which was signed in September 1980, expired in December 1982. [Text] [OW300803 Beijing XINHUA in English 0758 GMT 30 July 83]

VISIT TO COSTA RICA ENDS--San Jose, 29 July (XINHUA)--U.S. Special Envoy Richard Stone left here today for Colombia after talks with Costa Rican President Luis Alberto Monge. As his planned meeting with leaders of the Salvadoran guerrillas didn't take place, stone cut short his scheduled stay of 3 days. Stone arrived here yesterday evening after visiting Mexico, El Salvador, Panama, Venezuela and Honduras. Before leaving here, Stone told reporters that the U.S. does not want to see armament buildup in Nicaragua. Trying to justify the U.S. naval exercises in the Central American waters, Stone said they were aimed at displaying the U.S. capability to defend peace in the Central American region. After his meeting with stone, President Monge told reporters that the presence of the U.S. fleet in the Central American waters does not contribute to the atmosphere of the dialogue to seek peace in Central America. Richard Stone is on his third trip to Central American countries since he was named special envoy for President Reagan's Central American policies. [Text] [OW310020 Beijing XINHUA in English 1624 GMT 30 Jul 83]

CSO: 4000/221

NORTHEAST ASIA

BRIEFS

USSR EXPANSION CAUSES CONCERN--Tokyo, 27 July (XINHUA)--Japanese Foreign Minister Shintaro Abe today expressed grave concern over the Soviet policy of expansion, calling on the Western countries to unite in the talks on the reduction of medium-range missiles in Europe. Speaking about domestic and international situation at a gathering here, Abe said the Soviet Union, in pushing forward step by step its expansionist policy, has posed a threat to the Western countries. Citing the situation in Kampuchea, the Middle East and Central America, the foreign minister said the Soviet expansion and military buildup have caused unrest all over the world. He pointed out that the Soviet Union has deployed 240 SS-20 missiles in Europe and 108 in the Far East. In view of the fact, Abe said, Japan has to pay serious attention to the medium-range nuclear weapons reduction talks to be resumed in Geneva this fall. On the flow of high technologies from Western countries to the Soviet Union, Abe said Japan is prepared to take some restrictive measures against it. [Text] [OW272359 Beijing XINHUA in English 1613 GMT 27 Jul 83]

CSO: 4000/216

SOUTHEAST ASIA/PACIFIC

VODK REPORTS MORE SRV TROOPS WIPED OUT

OW290756 Beijing XINHUA in English 0726 GMT 29 Jul 83

[Text] Beijing, 29 July (XINHUA)--The Democratic Kampuchean National Army and guerrillas have recently mounted extensive attacks on the Vietnamese occupation troops in Kaoh Kong, Siemreab, Batdambang and other provinces, capturing a number of enemy strongholds and wiping out many Vietnamese soldiers, according to reports of Radio Democratic Kampuchea.

Repeated attacks were launched on Vietnamese strongholds in Khek Teuk, O Thnoeng, Phumi Khsach Sa, Chi Ek and Kam Pisei, Phumi Sre Ampil District, in the southern part of Kach Kong Province from 21 to 24 July. Ninety-three Vietnamese soldiers were killed or wounded and five strongholds and some weapons were captured.

The armed forces and guerrillas seized three Vietnamese strongholds in Balang Leu, Sang Har and Khnar Romeas, and killed eight enemy men on 16 July in a battle along the Thmar Kok-bavel highway south of Sisophon District in Batoambang Province. The Kampucheans took another fortress guarded by a Vietnamese company in Pailin District of the same province on 19 July. They knocked out 24 enemy troops and destroyed five barracks.

In Seamreab Province in the northwestern part of the country, the armed forces of Democratic Kampuchea captured two strongholds and annihilated a number of enemy troops in Prek Sromach and Vat Sala on 12 July. Earlier, on 14 and 15 July, they also took three strongholds in Srok Sotr Nikom District and wiped out dozens of enemy troops in the fighting.

Since early this month, the armed forces and guerrillas of Democratic Kampuchea also attacked Vietnamese troops in other provinces, including Pursat, Kampong Thum, Preah Vihear, Kampot, Kampong Cham and Kampong Spoe, wiping out a number of enemy troops and capturing a quantity of weapons.

CSO: 4000/220

SOUTHEAST ASIA/PACIFIC

VOFA SCORES SRV INCURSIONS INTO THAILAND

OW301806 Beijing XINHUA in English 1443 GMT 30 Jul 83

[Text] Bangkok, 30 July (XINHUA)--Thai radio "Voice of Free Asia" [VOFA] condemned Vietnamese troops for intruding into Thai territory.

In a commentary Friday, the radio said, "Foreign ministers of the three Indochinese countries" expressed in a recent communique their willingness to stop the use of force so as to ease the tension along the Thai-Kampuchean border, but Vietnam has taken no practical action in response to the efforts of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) for the settlement of the Kampuchean problem.

Two days after the communique of the "foreign ministers' meeting of the three Indochinese countries" was issued, Vietnamese occupation troops in Kampuchea made two incursions into the Thai territory, the radio said.

On 23 July, Vietnamese troops intruded into Khlongyai of That Province and exchanged fire with Thai border troops for half an hour before they were beaten back. They fired seven shells into Thailand and bombarded the area again the next day.

The radio pointed out that Vietnamese troops have not only killed Kampuchean people but also made incursions into Thailand. This has laid bare Vietnam's aggressive nature and rendered it increasingly isolated in the world.

CSO: 4000/220

SOUTHEAST ASIA/PACIFIC

BRIEFS

OFFICIAL JOINS RESISTANCE FORCES--Beijing, 31 July (XINHUA)--Chhiv Ko Son, a leading official in charge of city propaganda work in Phnom Penh, fled the city and joined the resistance forces not long ago, Radio Democratic Kampuchea reported today. Chhiv Ko Son was once a professor. In his letter of appeal to the intellectuals in the Vietnamese-occupied areas, he said he hated the Vietnamese aggressors for persecuting the Kampuchean people and intellectuals, opposed Vietnamese troops' destruction of Kampuchea's culture and religion, and their arrests and killing of innocent Kampuchean civilians as well as those puppet officials who showed discontent with the Vietnamese military rule. He called on the people and intellectuals in the enemy-controlled areas to close their ranks and fight the Vietnamese with all kinds of weapons available to contribute to the cause of national survival and the liberation of the motherland. Chhiv Ko Son said he had taken the action to defect after he had learnt that Democratic Kampuchea was not engaged in socialism and that the Democratic Kampuchean coalition government had been formed. [Text] [OW310946 Beijing XINHUA in English 0756 GMT 31 Jul 83]

AUSTRALIAN DELEGATION IN TIANJIN--Li Ruihuan, mayor of Tianjin Municipality, met with an Australian trade delegation yesterday afternoon. Present on the occasion were deputy mayors Liu Jinfeng and Li Lanqing. The Tianjin municipal people's government has accepted an invitation to hold a Tianjin exposition in Melbourne in August 1984. [Summary] [SK261214 Tianjin City Service in Mandarin 0030 GMT 26 Jul 83]

CSO: 4005/1040

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

RENMIN RIBAO ON RESPECTING KNOWLEDGE, TALENTS

HK270752 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 22 Jul 83 p 5

[Article by Wang Ping [3769 1627]: "It Is Imperative To Create the Atmosphere of Respecting Knowledge and Talents"]

[Text] Intellectuals are fairly concentrated in the general logistics department and in the logistics department of the whole army. Since the shift of the focal point of the work of the whole party, we have conscientiously carried out the policy toward intellectuals in accordance with the plan of the CPC Central Committee so that great improvements have been noted in all fields of work. When I reread Comrade Deng Xiaoping's scientific exposition on the intellectual issue after the publication of the "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," I was greatly moved and I realized more profoundly its great significance.

I

A key to the prosperity of science and technology and the attainment of the four modernizations lies in overthrowing the "two estimates" and bringing the party's policy toward intellectuals into line with Marxism. Comrade Deng Xiaoping has outstandingly manifested his foresight and sagacity on this issue.

When the national education work conference was held in 1971, the "gang of four" had a hand in revising and finalizing the so-called "Summary," asserting categorically that the educational front before the "Cultural Revolution" was one in which the bourgeoisie exercised dictatorship over the proletariat, that the world outlooks of most intellectuals were basically bourgeois ones, and that they were bourgeois intellectuals. The "two estimates" brought about disastrous consequences in educational circles and on all fronts across the land. After the smashing of the "gang of four," Comrade Hua Guofeng, who assumed the principal leading posts of the central authorities at that time, pursued a policy of "two whatevers" and supported the "two estimates." This, coupled with the historical prejudice formed over the years, caused the broad

section of intellectuals to suffer continuously under the fetters of an erroneous "Leftist" line. The phenomenon of looking down upon, and discriminating against, intellectuals were very serious.

Under these circumstances, Comrade Deng Xiaoping, who was still in adverse circumstances and had not been reinstated, penetratingly refuted the principle of "two whatevers" in the first half of 1977. He categorically pointed out: "It is absolutely necessary to create an atmosphere within the party: Respect knowledge and talents. It is necessary to oppose the erroneous idea of showing no respect for intellectuals." After he was reinstated in his work, he paid personal attention to the work of setting things to right on the scientific, education, and cultural fronts. He delivered important speeches on many occasions, reaffirming that the great majority of intellectuals are already a component part of the working class and, like workers and peasants, are socialist laborers and a reliable force of the party. He definitely indicated: "I know that it is difficult to handle science and education but I volunteered to take charge of this work. Without paying attention to science and education, there will be no prospects for the four modernizations. They will become empty talks." He incisively pointed out: "The 'Summary' was approved by Comrade Mao Zedong. Approval by Comrade Mao Zedong does not necessarily mean that there is no question of right and wrong in it." The 'Summary' has also had a lot of stuff from the 'gang of four' inserted in it. It is necessary to criticize the 'Summary' and draw a clear distinction between right and wrong." At that time, our party was confronted with the difficult situation of making hesitant advance. These speeches of Comrade Deng Xiaoping greatly inspired the broad section of intellectuals on various fronts and at the same time produced strong repercussions among leading comrades of the party at various levels.

II

The General Logistics Department was once a unit which was under the strict control of the Lin Biao counterrevolutionary clique into which the "gang of four" poked its nose. Numerous intellectuals and old comrades in it were overthrown together. After the smashing of the "gang of four" and through comparatively thorough exposition, criticism, and examination, policies were quite quickly applied to cadres and intellectuals who had suffered persecution and they returned to their work posts one after another. It should be said that numerous cadres and intellectuals forged a special and profound friendship in the decade of turmoil. However, it is not so easy to understand fully the status and role of intellectuals ideologically. Some comrades always hold that intellectuals, and particularly those coming from the old society, are of "unsatisfactory class status and family background" and "have complicated social relations" and "relatively many questions of a political nature in their history." They hold that the intellectuals can be treated as "allies" under the principle of "unity, education, and transformation." The professional skills of the intellectuals can be utilized but we should not regard them as a force to be relied upon

for fear that they are "undependable." Some comrades hold that the intellectuals emphasize vocational work and neglect politics and that they "cannot set their minds at rest" if the intellectuals should assume leading positions at various levels. There are various reasons for these ideas and views. Due to the influence of "Leftist" ideas over the years, some comrades have a rigid way of thinking. They have a deeprooted old concept of regarding "Leftism" as correct. Some comrades are accustomed to applying the criteria of previous war years and the standards of small-scale peasant economy in judging things in the contemporary era. Some other comrades who entertain relatively numerous selfish ideas and personal considerations, fail to put the cause of the party and people first. In relation to the reality in the General Logistics Department, I hold that when studying Comrade Deng Xiaoping's exposition on the intellectual issue, it is imperative to solve some problems of understanding.

1. It is necessary to understand fully intellectuals being a component part of the working class and to eliminate thoroughly historical prejudice and "Leftist" influence. Some comrades nourish the remnant prejudice of discriminating against intellectuals. They do not understand the status and role of intellectuals. As a matter of fact, if we review the actual work and contributions of intellectuals, we shall be able to deepen our understanding of the scientific thesis that intellectuals are a component part of the working class. Historically speaking, intellectuals have always been a motive force in the Chinese revolution. In old China, most intellectuals made a living by selling their mental labor. They were likewise oppressed and exploited. Only a very small number of intellectuals were dead set on working for the reactionary ruling class. A large number of intellectuals were patriots who had national integrity and revolutionary enthusiasm. In every stage of the Chinese revolution they made praiseworthy contributions. In the period of socialist revolution and construction, the role of intellectuals seems even more important. It would have been unimaginable for us to develop satellites, atom bombs, hydrogen bombs, guided missiles, and other scientific and technological projects had it not been for the leading role of intellectuals. Our army has developed from a unitary army equipped with millet plus rifles into a revolutionary army with the coordination of various arms and services and equipped with modern technological equipment. An important condition for this is our reliance on science and technology and on a mighty contingent of intellectuals. The numerous intellectuals in the logistics department have made outstanding contributions on various fronts of the logistics service of the army. At the national scientific and technological conference, the logistics department of the army won more than 250 awards for various achievements in scientific research. During the 10 years of turmoil, the broad section of intellectuals withstood rigorous tests. They suffered very serious attacks and persecutions from Lin Biao and the "gang of four," but they firmly believed in the party and the socialist motherland and were full of confidence in their special fields of study. A host of facts show that Comrade Deng Xiaoping's thesis about the status and role of intellectuals is entirely correct.

2. It is necessary to rectify thoroughly the erroneous tendency of denying that mental labor constitutes a kind of labor. How to deal correctly with mental and manual labor is an important issue for eliminating the pernicious influence of the "gang of four" and carrying out the policy toward intellectuals. During the 10 years of turmoil, the "gang of four" put the label of "spiritual aristocrats" on the broad section of intellectuals, criticizing them for divorcing themselves from labor and practice and for their inability to do manual work and farm work, or fight in a war. This fallacy exerted a widespread pernicious influence and made a very bad impact. The difficulty and complexity of mental labor which intellectuals engage in have not been universally valued and acknowledged. To counter the perverse acts of the "gang of four" and the erroneous views of some people on the question of mental and manual labor, Comrade Deng Xiaoping made penetrating analyses of these questions in many of his treatises. Proceeding from the Marxist viewpoint that "science and technology are productive forces," he stressed the status and role of mental labor in the socialist modernization program. In the last analysis, all our wealth is the common product of mental and manual labor. In our country, there is only some difference in the division and complexity of labor but there is no distinction between the high and the low and between the noble and lowly. Both mental and manual laborers have common objectives and interests. They cooperate with and serve each other. Judging from the law of development, this marks higher productive forces. At present, only by rectifying our understanding of mental labor and integrating mental with manual labor in a satisfactory way will it be possible for us to engage in socialist construction more effectively.

3. It is necessary to understand politics and vocational work correctly and set rational demands on them. Lin Biao and the "gang of four" confused the relationship between politics and vocational work. They rebuked the broad section of intellectuals for "divorcing themselves from politics," and thus seriously damped their enthusiasm for building socialism. In an effort to liberate the broad section of intellectuals from these heavy spiritual shackles, Comrade Deng Xiaoping made numerous incisive expositions in many of his important speeches. He pointed out: "Our scientific and technical personnel work hard for the scientific cause of socialism. How can we say that they are divorced from politics? There is a division of labor in our socialist cause. The comrades in various trades and professions work hard at their posts under the condition of upholding a socialist political stand. This is not divorced from politics. This is precisely a manifestation of having socialist consciousness." This has enabled us to clarify further the connotation of politics and vocational work and the dialectical and unified relationship between them. In dealing with the relationship between politics and vocational work, a very important problem is to carry out reform in ideological and political work in order to suit the needs of the new situation for marching toward the modernization of science and culture. It is, first of all, necessary to conscientiously study the characteristics of intellectuals and the law governing their work and act in accordance with the characteristics

and the law so as to bring the role of political work as a guarantee into full play. It is necessary to change gradually the composition of political cadres to enable them to make further progress in mastering intellectual work and becoming more professionally competent. In this way we can effectively eliminate "Leftist" influence manifested in the issue of politics and vocational work.

III

Adopt practical and effective measures and bring the role of intellectuals into fullest play so that they can contribute their intelligence and wisdom to the four modernizations. This is an important idea running through Comrade Deng Xiaoping's treatises on the intellectual issue. It is also our point of departure and final objective in carrying out the party's policy toward intellectuals.

Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out: "Not that we do not have competent personnel. The question is whether or not we can, in a very satisfactory way, organize and utilize them, arouse their initiative, and bring their special skills or knowledge into play." That is to say, after redressing unjust, false, and wrong cases against the intellectuals politically, and rehabilitating their reputations, we should place the focal point of the work on intellectuals on bringing their role into full play. Under the influence of "Leftist" ideas and the disruption of the "gang of four" in the past, the greatest misery of the intellectuals was that they were unable to realize the aspiration of contributing their special skills and knowledge to the state and people. Now, whether they are experts and professors of the older generation or middle-aged and young intellectuals, they urgently hope that there is ample scope for their abilities and that they can make up for the lost time and make contributions to the four modernizations program.

In bringing the role of intellectuals into full play, it is necessary to promote and put in important positions those specialized personnel who have real ability and training. We should organize and consolidate the leading bodies in accordance with the requirements of specialized subjects and gradually change the intellectual composition of the leading bodies at various levels in order to suit the needs of the large-scale modernization program. In selecting competent personnel and strengthening the leading bodies, we should enable specialized personnel to have authority and duties commensurate with their posts. It should be made clear that appointing middle-aged intellectuals who have real ability, training and organization skill to important leading posts is not "made for show" nor is it aimed at getting them bogged down in trifling administrative affairs, but at bringing their leading role in science and technology into play.

In bringing the role of intellectuals into full play, it is imperative to reform resolutely all outmoded conventions and bad customs that do not suit the growth of specialized personnel or do not help give scope to their role. It is necessary to break with convention in spotting, selecting and training competent personnel so that promising, young, and highly specialized personnel can show themselves. It is necessary to break down barriers

between different departments and localities to facilitate the exchange and rational use of competent personnel. It is particularly necessary to overcome selfish departmentalism characterized by preferring an overstocking of competent personnel or even changing of professions rather than transferring them to other units.

In bringing the role of intellectuals into play, it is necessary to regard the vocational studies and refreshment of specialists in all trades and professions as a major issue of strategic importance. Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out: "We should soberly note that there is still a big gap between our scientific and technological level and the advanced level in the world and that our scientific and technological force is still weak, far from able to suit the needs of modernization." People regard the present era as one in which "knowledge explodes." Various branches of learning are developing by leaps and bounds. We should make intellectual investment and exploitation step by step and in a planned way.

To allow full play to the role of intellectuals, the situation of "all eating from a big pot" must be thoroughly changed so as to be strict and fair in meting out rewards and punishments. Comrade Xiaoping pointed out: "Those who are virtually capable and competent in work can be promoted regardless of rules. Meanwhile, those who have long failed to make any achievements in work should be transferred to other posts and be demoted to a certain degree." This is an important measure and policy of bringing positive factors into play and helping the growth of talented people. On this issue, we must pay attention to eliminating the "leftist" influences and some unhealthy trends. For instance, some people allege that those comrades who have received awards desire personal fame and gain and fish for extra income. In coping with this matter, some leaders adopt an attitude of unprincipled accommodation toward such a kind of absolute equalitarianism; they share money awarded to one person among other people on a equal footing. In fact, in dealing with such negative factors, leaders should carry out education among these people and guide them to the revolutionary drive of learning from the advanced and aiming high.

IV

We must do a good job in rear service work so as to create the necessary working and living conditions for scientific and technical cadres. This is another key link in implementing the policy on intellectuals and allowing full play to their initiative.

Speaking on the importance of rear service work for achieving success in scientific research, Comrade Xiaoping made some touching remarks. He said: "I would like to be in charge of rear service work, and I am willing to work with leading comrades of CPC committees at all levels to make a success of this work." This fully shows the prime importance of rear service work. During the war years, our party's slogan was everything for victory at the front. Now, when we engage in the four modernizations, in rear service work, priority must be given to the forefront of the four modernizations. The

rear service work in universities or colleges must be aimed at the forefront of teaching work, and at the broad sections of teaching staff. The rear service work in scientific research offices must serve the forefront of research work and the great majority of scientific research workers. The rear service work in hospitals must be directed at medical work, and at medical workers and patients. Under similar circumstances, the rear service work in all trades and professions must serve its forefront, otherwise, there will be no sense in its existence.

Middle-aged intellectuals are the main body of the ranks of intellectuals in China. On all fronts of endeavors such as science, technology, culture and education, they shoulder the heavy tasks for forming a connecting link between the preceding and the following, and carrying forward the revolutionary cause and forging ahead into the future. Their role has a direct bearing on the development of the four modernizations. At present, these particular comrades face a number of practical problems and numerous difficulties. Therefore, we must give first priority to creating favorable working and living conditions for middle-aged intellectuals.

In creating favorable working and living conditions for middle-aged intellectuals, there must be all kinds of ideological obstructions. The glaring ones are as follows: 1) Absolute equalitarianism. This refers to sharing out the work and money awards. 2) The old force of habit. This means that administrative cadres are always in a more favorable position than those who engage in professional work. 3) Some unhealthy trends. Under the pretext of improving working conditions of intellectuals, some units make use of funds specially allocated by the higher authorities for other purposes. All these things usually chill the enthusiasm of intellectuals very much. We must educate all personnel to foster the idea of taking the whole situation into account, to proceed from the long-term interests of the four modernizations, and to make a success of rear service work with great effort.

Comrades who engage in rear service work must rid themselves of the sense of inferiority, and be willing, unknown heroes. Under the present conditions, they must take the initiative and work conscientiously and diligently so that intellectuals who work in the forefront will be able to work without trouble.

Leading cadres at all levels should learn from Comrade Xiaoping his spirit of being a willing "director of the logistics department" for intellectuals, and take rear service work as their primary task and duty.

We believe that with the concern of the CPC Central Committee and under its leadership, "a new era of people of talent coming forth in large numbers and a host of glittering stars will surely come soon," and a good social atmosphere of respecting intellectuals and people of talent will certainly come into shape step by step throughout the country.

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

GUANGMING RIBAO DISCUSSES SOCIALIST LITERATURE

HK280721 Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 13 Jul 83 pp 1, 4

[Article by Li Zhun [2621 0402]: "The Form of Commodity and the Nature of Socialist Literature and Art"--passages within single slantlines published in boldface; passages within double slantlines underlined as published]

[Text] Today, most works of art are supplied in the form of commodities to their consumers. However, commercialization is the death of art. What attitude we take toward, and how we handle this problem has an important bearing on the future development of art. Here below I will present some of my immature viewpoints.

Art, of Its Nature, Is Not a Commodity but the Dynamic Display of an Artist's Life

Works of art take the form of commodities in circulation. This is a phenomenon accompanying a certain stage in the development of commodity economy. As an effect of the invasion of exchange of commodities into every field, most spiritual products, like material products, can only be put into circulation and reach their consumers (readers or audience) in the form of commodities. There are two cases in which works of art take the form of commodities. In one case, works, such as publications, albums of paintings, records, and so on, which are separated from writers and artists, are sold to consumers at fixed prices; in the other case, artistic performances, such as drama, music, ballad singing, and so on, which cannot be separated physically from the artists, are presented to the audience upon the showing of tickets as evidence of payment of fees. In both cases, works of art show their "exchange values" and are tendered at fixed prices. Thus it easily gives a false impression that artistic production (artistic creation) is another form of commodity production. And this is precisely the first ideological pitfall which tempts some people to commercialize artistic creation.

The key point is that one must find out the nature of things through superficial phenomena. Can we conclude that artistic production is another form of commodity production, simply based on the fact that works of art take the form of commodities in the course of circulation? No. Marx pointed out in

"Das Kapital," "Some things, such as conscience, fame, and so on, are not in themselves commodities. However, these things can also be sold by their owners in exchange for money. Thus, they take the form of a commodity by claiming their own prices." ("Das Kapital," Vol 1, 1978 edition, pp 120-121) Thus it can be seen that things which take the commodity form are not necessarily real commodities. Of course, we should also be aware that things like conscience, fame, and so on, do not have the material form while works of art have to present themselves in a certain material form. However, as a kind of creative spiritual work, the real artistic production (artistic creation) differs, in principle, from material production which takes the form of commodities. Material producers aim at exchange and exchange value from the very beginning, while real writers and artists keep only art in their minds throughout the course of creation. (Note: Here, "art" means the complete art which includes the ideological content reflected by works, besides their artistic forms and techniques.) The exchange value of a material product represents its true value, around which the price floats; while the price of a work of art is usually determined by the raw materials used and the cost involved, (for example, the price of a book is in general fixed, based on the quality of the paper used and the printing cost involved, and the price of a ticket for a film show is mainly fixed by computing the film depreciation, charge for electricity, and the cost of cinema equipment). Such a price is hardly related to the content and the artistic achievement of a work. However, the feature which turns a work into a piece of art and the value which this piece of art can claim lies in its content, its artistic attainment, and the social effect it produces. In other words, the labor devoted by a writer or an artist in the course of creation and the value of his works cannot be evaluated in the price and in the cash value they produce in circulation. Can we equate a well-written novel with an inferior piece of fiction, both of which are priced at 1 yuan? Similarly, can we equate "A Wreath Laid at the Foot of a High Mountain" with "The Mysterious Ancient City" although the tickets for both film shows are sold at the same price? Here, I would like to recall Marx' comment on the writing of "Paradise Lost" by John Milton, an outstanding 17th century British poet and an active participant in the bourgeois revolution. In his later years, he wrote, in blindness and with amazing will power, the famous epic "Paradise Lost," which runs to 10,000 lines in 12 volumes. However, the manuscript of the epic was sold to a publisher for only 5 pounds sterling. Marx said: "Actuated by a desire similar to that of a silkworm in spinning silk, Milton wrote his 'Paradise Lost.' This was a dynamic expression of /his/ natural instincts. He sold his work for 5 pounds sterling later." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," vol 26, Part I, p 432) Here, Marx pointed out rather clearly: Any real artistic creation is the natural expression of the instincts of a writer or an artist for the pursuit of art. (Note: Marx means the art as a whole in its broad sense) He will persevere with his creative work whether he is paid or not. Every real work of art is an extension of the life of a writer or an artist, which is not produced for remuneration. The price in currency is merely a form to be taken to facilitate its circulation after

the completion of creation. Therefore, Marx also said: "A writer never regards his works as a /means/. The works are the /purpose per se/." "Once the works of a poet become his means, he will no longer be a poet." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 1, p 87) In terms of the nature of art, and in terms of the relationship between the ideological and artistic value of the works and their price, artistic creation is not commodity production, and art is not a commodity! It would obliterate the fundamental difference between spiritual and material production, and overlook or even discard the nature of art, if one were to regard artistic creation as commodity production.

It Is Necessary To Prevent and Check the Tendency to Commercialization Which May Lead to the Degeneration of the Nature of Socialist Literature and Art

Moreover, material production, as commodity production, has different natures under different social systems, and thus presents different cases. Under the capitalist system, commodity producers not only think of exchange value from the very beginning but will persevere to the end in their aim of making money and multiplying capital. Profit making is their sole purpose and their unique orientation. They produce whatever can make a profit and produce it in the most profit-making way. To be sure, in a socialist country like ours, material producers also have to take exchange and economic accounting into consideration in the production process. However, the commodity production under a socialist system is carried out under the guidance of the unified state plan and the purpose of production is to fulfill the people's evergrowing demands in material life. The basic difference between the two social systems and the difference in the mode of production as a whole will of course lead to different demands and have different influences on artistic production. As the "Communist Manifesto" pointed out, under the capitalist system, the bourgeoisie "turns the dignity of man into exchange value," and "turns" poets and artists "into wage laborers employed by the class which pays them with money." Artistic creation and performance are completely turned into a means for making money. Marx clearly named this kind of artistic production which "is conducted /purely/ for exchange and thus /purely/ produces /commodities/" as "an expression of capitalism in the realm of non-material production." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 26, Part I, p 442) (underlines are put by the quoter) In mentioning the complete commercialization of art, we mean that kind of artistic "creation" and performance which obliterates the difference between spiritual and material productions in the general sense, ignores the ideological and artistic value, and is /purely/ aimed at making money. Today, some Western countries are flooded with pornographic fiction, thrillers, and "sex plus violence" films. This is glaring evidence of the commercialization of art. Aimed at making money, all these things are definitely not the products of creative spiritual labor. "Fabricated" on the basis of several simple set patterns, they are of no ideological and artistic value but can only corrode and degenerate the reader and the audience. In this case, just like the sale of conscience and fame, "It is possible that price does not reflect the value," and "things of no value can claim their prices in form." (Das Kapital," Vol 1, pp 120, 121) Exactly in this sense, Marx said: "Capitalist production

is antagonistic to some spiritual production branches like art and poetry." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 26, Part I, p 296) Although most spiritual products still have to take the form of commodities in circulation in our country under the socialist system, the purpose of spiritual production as a whole is to fulfill the people's evergrowing demand for spiritual life, to build the socialist spiritual civilization with communist ideology as its core, to raise the masses' spiritual understanding, and to help them to push ahead the development of history. Socialist literary and artistic creation and performance should not be aimed at making money but should adhere to the orientation of "serving the people and serving socialism." If, in a general sense, commercialization signifies the degeneration of art, it will be even more dangerous for socialist literature and art as it can only lead to their fundamental degeneration.

As everybody knows, not all the writers and artists in capitalist countries engage in creation and performance "purely for exchange" and for making money. There have been, of course, those writers and artists (such as Milton) who devoted their lives to the pursuit of art in history. Even today, we still can see serious writers and artists in Western countries: Some of them refuse to pander to low tastes in their creation and performance just to make money, some others refuse to sign contracts with those producers who try to insert commercials into television film series adapted from their books, no matter what price those producers offer them. Our socialist literary and art workers should attain a loftier realm of thought and cherish a higher goal in their pursuit of art. In fact, many comrades have acted in this way. Many writers live for a long period of time in some places in order to have personal experience of the hard life there, and always review and refine their works over and over again. Their purpose is not to seek fame and wealth but to produce excellent literary and art works for socialism. Many actors work hard to polish up their skills, they are not striving for high remuneration but trying to present a perfect performance to the audience. Many artists resolutely turn down the contracts offered by exporters and definitely declare that "their paintings are not commodities!" Examples like these are numerous. These comrades, on the one hand, draw a clear demarcation line between the socialist literature and art and the capitalist commercialized literature and art with their works and performances; and, on the other hand, hold high the socialist banner in the realm of literature and art by showing their noble character embodied in their zeal in art and their indifference to money. By contrast, a small number of people "regard money as everything" and seek fame and wealth with their works and performances. What they are practicing does not match with their position as socialist literary and art workers and this is absolutely an evidence of degeneration. We see that some writers who used to hold a serious attitude in writing and had produced some good works are now presenting a lot of rubbish as they have turned themselves into "writing machines" whose aim is to make money. We also see that some actors who were originally quite promising are now showing a lower and lower taste as they have given up their pursuit of art under the influence of the tendency of "regarding money as everything." Facts like these show from another angle the importance of overcoming and preventing the trend of commercialization.

'Box-Office Value' and Economic Means Must Be Subordinate to the Law Governing the Development of Socialist Literature and Art

Here it is also necessary to discuss the problems concerning "Box-office value." In its general meaning, the so-called "box-office value" does not denote the price of a single ticket but the total number of tickets. [phrase indistinct] In a broad sense, the total sales of a book can also be regarded as a kind of "box-office value." Some comrades hold that it is all right to pursue box-office value, as it signifies social effect--a higher box-office value means a greater audience which shows in its turn that the ideological and artistic value of the works is higher, thus its social effect is better. This point of view is subject to challenge. First, to be sure, a piece of work can only produce its social effect when it is accepted by an audience. If a published novel has no readers and a play has no audience, in other words, both of them have no box-office value, there will be no way for them to produce social effect. However, box-office value is by no means equal to social effect. In his "Talks at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art," Comrade Mao Zedong definitely pointed out that the so-called effect denotes the "effect" produced by a work "in the community and among the masses," it consists of the "role it plays in social practice and the effect produced thereon," in other words, its effect depends on "whether it is beneficial to the masses." In the final analysis, the social effect of a work of literature and art as an ideological expression depends first, on what influence it has upon the thinking and the action of the reader and the audience. (Whether it can help them to have a correct understanding of the reality and its law of development, give them a healthy aesthetic treat, help them to brace up, and encourage them to play a more active role and to push ahead the historical development; or the contrary.) Second, readers and audience under the present conditions in our country, differ to a large extent from those in old China and in the capitalist countries. However, some backward thoughts still have influence on the masses. In addition, due to the decline in the tastes of some people in the 10 years of turmoil and to other reasons, works with high ideological and artistic value sometimes do not necessarily have a large readership or audience, while some other works which pander to bad taste may probably have a rather high box-office value. Many facts have shown that being well received by the masses of people is completely different from pandering to bad taste. The box-office value of a work can only restrict the extent, but cannot determine the quality of, its social effect. For a good work, the higher box-office value it has, the greater the good social effect it produces. For a bad work, the higher box-office value it has, the greater pernicious social effect it produces. Therefore, it is of course wrong to disregard or even completely negate the importance of box-office value. However, it is also wrong to equate the box-office value to the ideological and artistic attainments of a work or to think that the two things are always directly proportional to each other. In order to expand the influence of works, we must pay attention to their box-office value. But, this is based on the prerequisite that the ideological and artistic quality of the works is guaranteed and constantly improved. All high-minded socialist writers, artists, and organizations should never content themselves with any temporarily high box-office value but should constantly

try to raise the taste in art of readers and audience through unremitting pursuit of socialist arts. If we take the box-office value of a work as the key factor or even regard it as our unique goal of pursuit, we will not only spoil our cultivation in art but will also run the risk of commercializing our own conscience, fame and personality.

Thus, it can be seen that clearly defining the distinction in principle between the form of commodity taken by works of art in circulation and the commercialization of art is a problem having an important bearing on the nature of socialist literature and art and an important guarantee for its proper development. Undoubtedly this does not mean that we should rule out the economic factor in our literary and art work. The reason is, we have to take the economic factor into account and cannot disregard the role of the law of economic operation, since we still have to develop commodity production and exchange, and most of spiritual products still have to take the form of commodities in circulation for a rather long historical period. For example, the development scale of the cultural cause as a whole (in particular, cultural facilities) which includes literature and art, is restricted by the level of economic development; such departments as film studios and literary and artistic publishing houses have to pay attention to economic development; such departments as film studios and literary and artistic publishing houses have to pay attention to economic accounting since, in some ways, they resemble enterprises in terms of management system. However, as we have already mentioned above, the socialist artistic production as a whole is not a type of commodity production and it should basically be operated in accordance with the law governing its own development. (For writers and artists, their activities of creation should be subject to the guidance of, and restriction by, the dialectical materialist world outlook, the revolutionary stand of the proletariat, and the socialist ideology.) The setting of economic targets and the consideration of economic income must be governed by, and must not violate the laws of art. On condition that the laws of art are observed, the economic means, as an auxiliary tool, can boost the development of socialist literature and art if used properly. However, if we promote artistic production by the means for material production operation, regard the economic means as the principal or even the only means for managing literary and artistic work, and take profit-making as the orientation, under the pretext that economic accounting is necessary for some links and that the money earned is not to enter a certain individual's pocket, we will take the risk of putting the cart before the horse and will distort or even obliterate the nature of socialist literature and art. By the way, some malpractices in the administrative system are disadvantageous to the rapid development of socialist literature and art. For example, in the past, our literary and artistic departments have suffered from the practice of eating from the same big pot regardless of the difference in the quantity of work, and certain literary and artistic units survived on subsidies by the state since they failed to produce works

or just produced a few. For this reason, we must carry out a reform so as to mobilize the initiative of our literary and art workers. But, the fundamental purpose of the reform is to produce more and better nourishment of the mind for the people. We cannot transplant mechanically those practices suitable for material production to the realm of literature and art; still less encourage the tendency of "regarding money as everything" under the pretext of reform. In the reform, we must clear away the influence of profit-before-everything mentality and extreme individualism. Being the builders of socialist spiritual civilization, our socialist literary and art workers should always place the pursuit of art before everything else, constantly improve their ideological understanding and cultivation in art, and strive to scale the heights of socialist literature and art under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought!

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

GUANGMING RIBAO ON WEAPONS DECREE OF QIN EMPEROR

HK291307 Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 13 Jul 83 p 3

[Article by Sun Hongbing [1327 4767 8530]: "A Probe Into Qin Shi Huang's Decree on 'Confiscating All Weapons of the Country and Using the Metal to Make 12 Statues'"--passages within single slantlines published in boldface; passages within double slantlines underlined as published]

[Text] In 221 BC, Qin Shi Huang, having just unified the country, issued the decree: "Confiscate all weapons of the country, deposit them in Xianyang, convert their metal into bells and their supports, and forge 12 statues, each weighing 1,000 dan, to be placed in the imperial court." ("Historical Records: The Story of Qin Shi Huang") In the past, many people interpreted the confiscation of all weapons of the country as a suppressive measure to prevent the people from rising in rebellion. But such a deduction is not reliable. Qin Shi Huang's "confiscation of all weapons of the country" was a case of only collecting the weapons captured from the six states and not of confiscating the weapons among the people. Such an argument is based on three points:

/1. Large numbers of weapons circulated among the people. Those common people who carried swords on their persons and practiced martial arts were not considered guilty of defying the law./ Many relevant examples are given in the "Historical Records." For example, the "Story of Gaozu" tells of Liu Bang killing a snake. "(Gaozu) stepped forward, drew his sword and chopped at the snake, which was cut in two, leaving the way clear for his progress." Liu Bang was also quoted as saying on his deathbed: "Starting out as an ordinary citizen, I have conquered the world, a 3-foot sword in my hand. Is this fate?" When holding the official title of Tingzhang, Liu Bang often carried a sword. According to the "Story of the Duke of Huaiyin," Han Xin liked carrying a sword. The rascals of Huaiyin made fun of him, saying: "The Likes (of you) growing up in Huaiyin are //in the habit of carrying swords// and must be cowardly at heart." Later, "Xiang Liang made it across the Huaihe River, and Han Xin, holding his sword, followed him." At that time, poor people like Han Xin carried swords with them. The rascals did not accuse him of "defying the law" but ridiculed his lack of courage to use the

sword for killing others. It can be seen that carrying swords was then a common practice. Also, according to the "Story of Xiang Yu," Xiang Yu in his youth "practiced swordsmanship." Later, the Xiangs rose in rebellion. Xiang Yu, carrying his sword with him, went to see an official with the title of Junshou to discuss something. Catching the latter unprepared, Xiang Yu drew his sword and killed the official. This especially shows that people were then allowed to practice swordsmanship and to see Junshou officials while carrying swords. Otherwise, ordinary people would not have dared to walk out openly with swords about their persons.

/2. As far as the time spent on collecting weapons was concerned, all the weapons among the people could not have been gathered up./ This measure was carried out in 221 BC. The same year the state of Qi had just been brought under control. The year before, the states of Yan and Chu were conquered. It had taken 3 years to conquer the state of Chu. In the 2 or 3 years before the decree calling for the confiscation of weapons was issued, a chaotic situation still prevailed, with large-scale preparations for war being carried out. In the first year after Qin conquered the six states, there would not be enough time to collect the weapons in all parts of the country and to haul them to Xianyang, if all the weapons among the people were to be confiscated. Therefore, the confiscation of all the weapons of the country could only mean collecting the weapons captured in wars of previous years.

/3. Considering the quantity of weapons required to make statues, not all the weapons of the country were used./ Based on the total weight of just the 12 statues, we can work out the approximate quantity of weapons required to forge those statues. According to the "Historical Records," each statue weighed 1,000 dan. Quoting the "Anecdotes About Sanfu," the "Book of Zhengyi on the Historical Records" says, "The weapons of the country were collected, and 12 statues in bronze were forged, each weighing 340,000 (or 240,000) jin. According to this, the 12 statues had a total weight of 4.08 million jin. If the weapons (dagger-axes, halberds, hatchets, battleaxes, swords, arrowheads, armor, and so forth) carried by each fighter had an average weight of 10 jin (based on the scales in the period of Western Han), then the weapons belonging to not more than 408,000 people were involved! During the period of the Warring States, this was not a large figure. In the Zhangping Battle between Qin and Zhao, General Bai Qi of Qin captured 400,000 troops of Zhao, entrapping and killing them in one night. The weapons captured from these 400,000 troops in the Zhangping Battle were alone almost enough to make 12 statues. Also, there were the two big states of Qi and Chu with large numbers of troops as well as the three states of Wei, Han, and Yan with forces almost matching the strength of Zhao. The quantity of weapons captured over the years by Qin in conquering the six states should at least have been the equivalent of equipment for around 2 million people. Its weight should rightly be around five times as much as 4 million jin. Therefore, if the weapons concentrated in Xianyuan were only enough to produce no more than 4 million jin of bronze (or double that quantity, 8 million jin, with bells and their supports added), then this

quantity would be too small if compared with the total weight of weapons that Qin captured from the six states. Therefore, it can be said that the weapons used to produce statues were not all the weapons of the six states and still less were they all the weapons of the whole country (including those among the people).

According to historical records, Qin Shi Huang had three purposes in collecting the weapons of the country to make 12 statues:

1. Making 12 Statues as Symbols of Conquest of the World

Teh "Wuxing Chapter, the Han Book" says: "In the 26th year (221 BC), giants standing 50 feet high, with feet 6 feet long, all wearing foreign dress, were seen at Lintao, 12 of them. Therefore, weapons were converted into metal to make statues that looked like them." This was how the Hans explained Qin Shi Huang's conversion of weapons into metal to make statues. They did not think that this measure was designed to ban the possession of weapons among the people and to prevent the people from rising in rebellion. Instead, only after the discovery of giants at Lintao by Qin Shi Huang did he start converting weapons into metal to make statues. This was supposedly done in answer to the call of heaven. The statues were proudly displayed to symbolize the conquest of barbarians on all sides. After Qin Shi Huang conquered the six states, his greatest concern was foreign invasion. Therefore, he took a series of measures to prevent foreign invasion. This, coupled with his superstitious belief in fate and his hunger for power, fully explains why arms were converted into metal to make statues for display in the imperial court as symbols of conquest of barbarians.

2. Old Weapons Were Remade Into New Ones and Weapon Specifications Unified To Strengthen National Defense

Only after many years of fierce fighting did Qin achieve victory in conquering the six states. For the fighting, Qin and the six states had respectively used and accumulated large supplies of weapons. Due to differences in weights and measures and metallurgical techniques, these weapons varied in their standards and performances. If captured, different weapons had been adopted for the Qin Army, there would have been a lack of uniformity. If they had been kept in prefectures or counties (originally controlled by the six states), they would have become likely sources of trouble. It was, therefore, considered not desirable to keep these weapons available. Qin Shi Huang was also keen on achieving unified standards. As he had thought of "coordinating cart and track sizes and standardizing school books," his mind would naturally turn to unified standards for weapons. In preventing foreign invasion, the unification of standards for weapons was also a means of strengthening combat power. Therefore, he converted old weapons with different standards into metal. The aim was to remake them into new weapons with unified standards. But weights and measures had first to be unified before unified standards could be achieved. Therefore, 2 years after the unification of weights and measures, Qin Shi Huang, in 219 BC really achieved the unification of the standards for weapons. In

"The Story of Qin Shi Huang," "Historical Records" says that in the 28th year of Qin Shi Huang (219 BC), Qin Shi Huang, on an eastern trip, ordered the erection of a stone tablet with the inscription: "It is 28 years since the emperor assumed power. ... Everywhere in the country, the hearts and minds of the people have been won. Standards for //Qin Xie// [weapons] have been unified, with //Yi Liang// [unified weights and measures] achieved. Books for students have been standardized." "Qi Xie Yi Liang" means the adoption of unified standards for weapons with the same weights and measures. "The Book of Zhengyi on the Historical Records" also provides the explanation that "Qi means armor and the like. Xie means dagger-axes, spears, bows, halberds, and the like. Yi Liang means the same weights and measures." This shows that on the basis of unifying weights and measures, Qin further unified the standards for weapons. The large supplies of raw material--bronze--for these new weapons came from the melted bronze obtained from old weapons. Converting the old weapons of the six states, with different standards, into new ones with unified standards marked the first national unification of weapons in history and the first large-scale effort in renewing weapons, which took 2 years to complete. Qin Shi Huang, who collected the weapons of the country, used only part of the brass for making the statues. Most of the brass was devoted to the production of new weapons. What is deplorable is that Qin Shi Huang's conversation of old weapons is only regarded as a measure to control weapons, while its significance and role in regard to reform is overlooked.

3. An Attempt To Show a Desire for Conciliation and To Reassure and Pacify the People

In the past, many people thought that the matter of melting down weapons was an attempt to prevent the people from rising in rebellion and a suppressive measure taken against the people. There was not much reliable evidence to support such an argument. It was more likely to have been a measure to win the hearts and minds of the people and to pacify the masses. Before Qin's conquest of the six states, the people had gone through a long period of war and had become wearied. To consolidate his rule, Qin Shi Huang decided that in future there should be no more fighting among various dukes or princes. This, of course, appealed to the desires of the people. He divided the country into 36 prefectures, so that various areas could not have their own troops for self-defense. The melting down of weapons to forge statues was a propaganda move designed to tell the people that there would be no more fighting among various dukes or princes in future. After Emperor Wu of Zhou defeated Emperor Zhou of Yin, an approach was adopted described as: "Let horses run over the sunlit Hua Mountains. Let cattle graze amidst peach trees. //Bury the hatchet and recall the troops,// and tell the world that there will be no more use for them." ("Historical Records: "The Story of Zhou") Qin Shi Huang had also learned this tactic. What he wanted to get across to the people was this idea of no longer seeking the mobilization of troops. In "The Story of Li Si, Historical Records," it was written: "Enshrine the master as the emperor. Appoint Si as prime minister. //Melt down the weapons// of prefectures, counties, and cities formerly occupied by barbarians and //let it be known that they

will not be used again."// The many stone inscriptions mentioned in the "Story of Qin Shi Huang" repeatedly stressed such publicity. For example, a stone inscription in Langyatai said: "With the people living in peace, //there is no need to mobilize troops."// A stone inscription in Dongguan said: "With the remaining danger gone, //the hatchet should be buried forever."// All these were aimed at getting across to the people the theme that there would be no more mobilization of troops. Of course, what Qin Shi Huang did was not always compatible with what was publicized. A case in point was that he destroyed the old weapons and immediately converted them into new and better ones. But as far as his propaganda among the people, or his subjective desire, was concerned, the measure to melt down weapons to produce statues was intended to pacify the people and to make them concentrate on production. It was political propaganda involving more fraud than suppression. In the past, the move was often erroneously interpreted as suppression.

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

LECTURE ONE ON DENG XIAOPING WORKS, PART ONE

OW291421 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 2320 GMT 24 Jul 83

[Part one of the first lecture in a series on studying the "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" prepared by the station theoretical department: "An Important Work of the Party on Political Theory in the New Period--Introducing the 'Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping'"]

[Text] The "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" (1975-1982), which was published by the Editorial Committee on Party Literature under the CPC Central Committee, has been available to the readers since 1 July 1983. This is a major event that the people have long awaited for. With the publication of this book, the spirit of the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee will find its way ever deeper into the hearts of the people.

Comrade Deng Xiaoping is one of the principal leaders of our party, country and army. Selected in the book are important speeches he made between 1975 and 1982, the year the 12th CPC National Congress was convened. The speeches made in 1975 reflect Deng Xiaoping's tremendous efforts during the tit-for-tat struggle against the "gang of four" to straighten things out in every field of work, eliminate the turmoils of the great Cultural Revolution, promote stability and unity and develop the national economy. The speeches made after 1977 reflect his decisive role and outstanding contribution in mobilizing and guiding the whole party in bringing order out of chaos, achieving the great historical transition and, in the light of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and the actual situation in China, formulating the correct path, principles and policies of socialist modernization. The speeches cover a wide range of topics including political and economic affairs, science, education, literature and art, united front work, military affairs and party building. The 260,000-character book features 47 speeches plus footnotes; 39 speeches are published for the first time. Hence, we will be able to read many important speeches by Comrade Xiaoping.

Comrade Xiaoping has made numerous speeches. Why were the speeches between 1975 and 1982, the year the 12th CPC National Congress was convened, selected and edited for publication first? As you know, Comrade Xiaoping took charge of the day-to-day work of the central authorities in 1975. Since then, he has played an especially important role in the political life of our party

and country. Although there was a lapse of more than 1 year in his leadership, it provided the people with much food for thought and enabled them to realize, from the twists and turns of history, the correct leadership of Comrade Xiaoping, thereby further enhancing his prestige. For this reason, after the downfall of the "gang of four" the people strongly requested that Comrade Xiaoping resume his work. This is how the history unfolded: the situation developed step by step from the struggle against the "gang of four," correcting leftist errors and shifting the focus of work to building socialism in all fields. Studying Comrade Xiaoping's speeches during this period and reviewing the course we have traversed are very important for us in understanding the changes that have taken place on a series of important questions within the party around the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee, as well as for deepening our understanding of current party policies.

Next, we would like to discuss three aspects in studying the "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping." They are: 1. the main content of the selected works; 2. the significance of its publication; and 3. how to study the selected works.

First, let us talk about the main content of the selected works, which can be summarized into 11 points. We would like to briefly introduce and discuss them in order to help listeners obtain an overall but capsule view of the selected works. However, due to its voluminous and broad range of topics, plus our limited knowledge, the following summary might not be adequate or might even be inaccurate. Therefore, it can only be used as a reference.

1. In order to eliminate chaos, we must carry out overall consolidation. The year 1975 was the final stage of the Great Cultural Revolution. With Comrade Zhao Enlai gravely ill, Comrade Deng Xiaoping, with the support of Comrade Mao Zedong, on 5 January 1975 took charge of the day-to-day work of the central authorities and assumed the post of vice chairman of the Military Commission of the CPC Central Committee and concurrently chief of general staff. In his speech delivered at a meeting attended by cadres at and above regimental level of the PLA General Staff Department on 25 January 1975, Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out that the army needed consolidation. Then he called for consolidation in several fields: Industry needs consolidation, agriculture needs consolidation and the policy on literature and art needs readjustment--which in fact also meant "consolidation." He also called for solving problems in rural areas, factories, science and technology, and other fields through consolidation. Comrade Xiaoping emphatically pointed out that the core of consolidation was party consolidation.

As long as we grasp the central link of party consolidation, it will not be too difficult to carry out consolidation in all fields. It is necessary to lay the stress of party consolidation on consolidating leading bodies at all levels. Once we have successfully consolidated the leading body, the problems among party members can be easily solved. Actually, the goal of consolidation is to systematically correct the errors made during the Great Cultural Revolution and build China into a powerful socialist state with modern agriculture, industry, national defense, and science and technology. He also urged the whole party to strive for the realization of this magnificent goal.

It was a time when the "gang of four" ran amuck. Disregarding the possibility of being ousted once again, Comrade Xiaoping took care of the day-to-day work of the central authorities at a time when the party and country were in dire straits and resolutely waged a tit-for-tat struggle against the "gang of four" in an effort to eliminate chaos, restore political stability and develop the national economy. We should study and learn from his dauntless revolutionary spirit and high sense of responsibility toward history. Representing the party's correct leadership at that time, Comrade Xiaoping's speeches conformed with the aspirations of the party and the people and are still vividly remembered by them. Regrettably the subsequent so-called campaign to criticize Deng and strike back at the right deviationist wind to reverse the verdict again stopped the advance of history.

2. We must smash taboos in order to reestablish the ideological line of dialectical materialism in seeking truth from facts. In the protracted revolutionary struggle, our party formulated an ideological line of dialectical materialism in seeking truth from facts. From the late 1950's, however, the leftist errors that had gradually emerged in the guiding principles of our party engendered the atmosphere of dogmatism and Comrade Mao Zedong's personality cult. During the decade of turmoil, the personality cult reached such fanatic proportions that Mao's quotations became the only criterion and basis for judging right from wrong and guiding all practical work, causing the work of our party in all fields to deviate from the Marxist ideological line. After the downfall of the "gang of four," the whole party tried time and again to eliminate chaos and restore order. However, the principal responsible comrades of the party Central Committee at that time put forward the line of "two whatevers" and continued to adhere to the leftist errors. Comrade Xiaoping energetically opposed the "two whatevers" when it was first brought up. He said: The "two whatevers" will not work. If we do things according to the "two whatevers," many problems will not be solved. The aim of the "two whatevers" is to perpetuate the errors Comrade Mao Zedong made in his late years.

Comrade Xiaoping first called on the whole party to emancipate the mind, smash the taboos and return to the ideological line of seeking truth from facts. He said: Seeking truth from facts is the foundation of the proletarian world outlook. We relied on the principle of seeking truth from facts in achieving all our revolutionary victories. In building the four modernizations now, we must also rely on this principle. We must proceed from reality and not merely study books. Seeking truth from facts is the quintessence of Mao Zedong Thought, the ideological line of the party, the foundation for formulating a correct political line and the guarantee for correctly implementing the political line.

Comrade Xiaoping especially stressed the unity between emancipating the mind and seeking truth from facts. He said: Emancipating the mind is to conform one's thinking to reality; that is, to seek truth from facts. Only by emancipating the mind, persisting in seeking truth from facts, always proceeding from reality and integrating theory with practice can we successfully carry out our socialist modernization and develop our party's theory on Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought.

In this light, the discussion on the criterion for verifying truth is indeed a question of the ideological line, a political question and a major question concerning the future and destiny of our party and country. All these views were penetratingly expounded on in the speech "Emancipate the Mind, Seek Truth From Facts, Unite as One and Look Forward." The speech, which in fact was the keynote speech at the historic 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee," played a pivotal role in reestablishing the Marxist ideological line, eliminating ideological fetters and setting things right in all fields of work within the whole party.

3. We must defend Comrade Mao Zedong's place in history and uphold and develop Mao Zedong Thought. Since the downfall of the "gang of four," how to appraise Comrade Mao Zedong and Mao Zedong Thought has become a sensitive question attracting close attention at home and abroad. If not properly handled, it will cause confusion and turbulence.

Comrade Xiaoping said in a letter in 1977: From generation to generation we must accurately and completely use Mao Zedong Thought to guide the whole party, the whole army and the people of the whole country and successfully push forward the cause of the party and socialism and the international communist movement.

Comrade Xiaoping said: We cannot interpret Mao Zedong Thought from a few words and phrases; we must gain a correct understanding from the system of Mao Zedong Thought as a whole.

What is Mao Zedong Thought? It is an integration of the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution.

Comrade Xiaoping said: We should establish Comrade Mao Zedong's place in history and uphold and develop Mao Zedong Thought. Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought is our party's guiding ideology. Mao Zedong Thought will always be the most precious spiritual wealth of the whole party, the whole army and the people of all our nationalities. We should completely and accurately understand and grasp the scientific principles of Mao Zedong Thought and develop them under the new historical conditions.

As early as before the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, while calling for accurately and completely understanding Mao Zedong Thought, Comrade Xiaoping repeatedly mentioned Comrade Mao Zedong's great historical contributions.

At the end of 1978, he pointed out in clear-cut terms at the closing session of the working conference of the party Central Committee: Without Comrade Mao Zedong's brilliant leadership, it is very possible that the Chinese revolution would have remained unsuccessful to this day. Thus, the people of all our nationalities would have remained under the reactionary rule of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism, and our party would still be engaged in arduous struggle. The great contributions Comrade Mao Zedong made in the protracted revolutionary struggle are forever indelible.

On how to develop Mao Zedong Thought, Comrade Xiaoping said: Scientific socialism develops in actual struggle as does Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. We certainly will not retrogress from scientific socialism to utopian socialism, nor will we let Marxism remain at the level of a few conclusions reached several decades or over 100 years ago. Therefore, we say repeatedly that we should apply the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong to study new situations and solve new problems.

What is the most important new situation and new problem in our country today? It is the realization of Chinese-style modernization.

From supporting the discussion of the criterion of truth to leading the drafting of the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the People's Republic of China," Comrade Xiaoping did a lot of fruitful work step by step, solved this major question which was the focus of attention at home and abroad in a scientific and appropriate way and achieved the goal of unifying the thinking of the whole party. He seriously corrected the mistakes Comrade Mao Zedong made in his later years while defending Comrade Mao Zedong's place in history, opposed the erroneous leftist principle of the "two whatevers" while combating the rightist trend to negate the scientific system to Mao Zedong Thought, and thus upheld Mao Zedong Thought.

This fully shows Comrade Xiaoping's militant materialist spirit and superb art of leadership. In practice Comrade Xiaoping is leading the whole party and the people of the whole country in doing what Comrade Mao Zedong suggested but did not do, correcting what he wrongly opposed and completing what he failed to accomplish. It can be seen that Comrade Xiaoping, in constantly studying and solving new problems, has been and still is enriching and developing Mao Zedong Thought with new practical experiences and theoretical summation.

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

RENMIN RIBAO ENCOURAGES INTELLECTUAL INVESTMENT

HK280209 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 24 Jul 83 p 1

[Editorial: "Intellectual Investment Gains a Handsome Profit--Third Discourse on the Way to Improve Economic Results"]

[Text] Intellectual investment gains a handsome profit. We should take a broad and long-term view and must not be reluctant to spend money and time on intellectual investment if we really want to improve economic results.

In building the four modernizations, we need a grand and scientific intellectual force. Generally speaking, we need technical secondary school educated laborers to master modern production technology and equipment. Since our national economy is rather backward and our science and technology are underdeveloped, and in particular, due to the 10 years of internal disorder, the educational and technical standard of our staff and workers are low. Since the "gang of four" was crushed, we have done a lot of work in reviving and developing education for staff and workers, and in strengthening education, and we have made some achievements. However, viewing the entire force of staff and workers, their educational, technical, and professional skill standards are low, and the situation of a serious lack of qualified specialists, technicians, and administrative personnel has not undergone any fundamental change. Among the new leading groups of 804 enterprises which have been consolidated first, 45 percent of the cadres have junior secondary school education level or below and the majority of them have not systematically studied any professional or administrative knowledge. Among our 40 million-odd technicians and workers, the number of workers below the third technical grade accounts for almost 70 percent; while the average number of technicians in industrial and mining enterprises accounts only for 3 percent of the total staff and workers. Among 4,800-odd enterprises in the textile industry, over 1,000 enterprises do not have college-graduated technicians. Many industrial enterprises only have a few technicians and the problem of knowledge becoming outdated is also very common. Karl Marx said: "Labor productive forces are decided by various conditions, including the average level of skill of workers, the scientific development level, and its application level of technology, social integration in the production process, scale and effectiveness of production means, as well as natural conditions."

("Complete Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 23, p 53) The fact that Karl Marx placed the average level of skill of laborers before the other aspects shows that human knowledge is an important factor in the developments. [Words indistinct]. The aforesaid situation of our staff and worker force obviously does not suit the needs of our modernization. To spend money on intellectual exploitation and intellectual investment is an urgent task. There are many ways to exploit intellectual resources, such as establishing sparetime schools for staff and workers; running television and correspondence colleges, and specialized training courses; selecting and sending cadres and technicians to engage in advanced studies in colleges and scientific research institutes; selecting and sending staff abroad to investigate or study; and so on. Once we are willing to make efforts on exploiting intellectual resources, qualified personnel will emerge continuously one after another and we will build a solid foundation for developing enterprises and vigorously promoting the national economy.

At present, some comrades lack a broad and long-term view, and have insufficient understanding on the importance of intellectual investment. The views of "production is a hard task while education is a soft task" and "we hardly have any time for action," and so on just reflect a mentality of neglecting intellectual investment. In fact, in our present world, rapid or slow economic development and good or bad economic results are in direct proportion to the educational and scientific accomplishment of staff and workers and the administrative and technical levels of enterprises. Whenever we talk about production development and improving economic results, leading cadres of some of our enterprises first consider acquiring equipment and increasing the amount of investment rather than attaching great importance to the training and improvement of our laborers. They should realize that knowledge is a productive force while intellectual investment is an important part in production investment. In many developed countries, returns from intellectual investment are highly superior to those from material investment. Human beings are the most important of the three major factors of productive forces, as machines and equipment are made and controlled by man, and new skill and technology are explored and applied by man. If we neglect the importance of training qualified personnel, we cannot bring other factors into full play even though we increase our amount of material investment. Many of our enterprises are willing to spend their money on importing advanced equipment and technology. This advanced equipment, however, cannot be run and the advanced technology cannot be applied due to the workers' lack of scientific education and, therefore, it is difficult for them to master them. This explicitly shows the relationship between them!

Intellectual investment should include the training and upgrading of technicians. As our present level of scientific and technological development is changing with each passing day, we need to continuously replace out-dated knowledge with new. Enterprises must attach importance to the replacement of out-dated technical knowledge with new among technicians while running educational and

technical schools for workers, so that they can conscientiously study and obtain fresh nourishment. Only by acting in this way, can our national economic development keep up with world standards. Some enterprises may stress that they cannot select their staff for study or advanced studies due to their limited technical staff; or some enterprise leaders may even say that technicians need not study any more as they are college graduates. All these notions show that they lack a broad and long-term outlook.

Study and advanced studies by leading cadres in industrial and mining enterprises are also very important. If an enterprise is led by a group of ignorant people, the enterprise will not get going. Therefore, leading comrades in enterprises at all levels must have a sense of urgency and responsibility in study and advanced studies. Some people think that they can direct production as usual with their few years experience in running enterprises, even though they do not study; whereas some cadres, though given the chance to study, pass their opportunity to others under the pretext that they are too busy. This situation of being content with things as they are should under no circumstances be allowed to continue.

Our enterprises, in particular, the leading cadres in enterprises, must have a broad and long-term outlook, attach great importance to the exploitation of intellectual resources, and include the work of improving the scientific and educational knowledge standard of staff and workers in their agenda. The training and improvement of qualified personnel are the prerequisite for improving the economic results of enterprises. Only when an enterprise has a staff and worker force which arms itself with a high level of scientific and educational knowledge, can it have vitality, and can it soar freely in the drive to vigorously develop China and contribute greater efforts for the four modernizations.

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

CHEN YEPING ON PROMOTING INTELLECTUALS

HK281204 Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 21 Jul 83 p 1

[Report by GUANGMING RIBAO reporter Wang Wu [3769 2976]: "Chen Yeping Speaks on Selection of Science and Technology Leading Cadres at Organizational Work Forum"]

[Text] Not long ago, at the national organizational work forum, Chen Yeping, director of the Organization Department of the CPC Central Committee, said: "In selecting professional scientific or technological cadres and letting them hold leading posts of the party or the government, it is necessary to be bold and to pay close attention to the people with administrative and organizational abilities and the people with potential in this field." He pointed out: "As for the people who have professional knowledge but who are not good at leadership or unwilling to do leadership work and those who can make greater contributions if they remain at the professional posts, we should not select them and make them members of the leading bodies so as not to turn the 'experts' into 'laymen' or bring about another waste of talented people."

Comrade Yeping said the above things at the forum when it came to the issue of respecting knowledge and the intellectuals.

Comrade Chen Yeping said: "Now, both the comrades inside and outside the party have begun to have a better understanding of the importance of the intellectuals in the new historical period. The 'leftist' influence has been quite successfully eliminated. However, as pointed out by Comrade Chen Yun: 'We still have a long way to go in implementing the party's policy of recruiting more members and cadres from among the intellectuals.' At present, there are many comrades in our party, including some comrades engaged in organizational work, who have prejudice against intellectuals. More often than not, they use the intellectuals irrationally, demand perfection, lack the courage to promote the intellectuals, and feel ill at ease if the intellectuals are in charge of important work. All these are the disastrous results brought about by the erroneous 'leftist' ideas which have existed for a long time; they must be resolutely eliminated."

Comrade Chen Yeping stressed: "We should firmly acquire the Marxist scientific concept of respecting knowledge and talented people and make a further success of the following work: On the one hand, we should put full political trust in the intellectuals whom we have unmistakably judged to be both virtuous and able. We should be bold in promoting them, let them have both power and responsibilities, and enable them to give full play to their special training or knowledge at the appropriate leading posts. On the other hand, we should pay close attention to their progress. In addition to improving their living conditions and the conditions for their study and work, we must earnestly improve the party's political and ideological work, such as helping the comrades who have been engaged in natural scientific studies and engineering and technological work for a long time, study the basic concepts of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought."

Speaking on the question of how the intellectuals should look at themselves, Chen Yeping said: "Each cadre with a certain amount of professional knowledge should profoundly understand his own historical responsibility, apply his knowledge and talents in carrying forward the building of the socialist spiritual and material civilizations, overcome his own weaknesses, take the initiative in uniting and cooperating with the peasants and workers, learn from each other, and advance with each other in implementing the common goal of struggle."

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

GUANGMING RIBAO CALLS FOR IDEOLOGICAL WORK

HK280848 Beijing ZHONGGUO XINWEN SHE in Chinese 0758 GMT 28 Jul 83

[Text] Beijing, 28 Jul (ZHONGGUO XINWEN SHE)--GUANGMING RIBAO publishes an article today pointing out that the "outline (trial) of ideological and political work for workers of state-owned enterprises" approved for circulation by the CPC Central Committee puts forward a number of fundamental demands on the working class; its basic spirit, principles and methods are similarly applicable to all departments and units on the education, science, and culture front. These departments and units should refer to and implement the outline and do a really good job in ideological and political work among themselves.

GUANGMING RIBAO says in this article, entitled "Ideological and Political Work Must Also Be Stepped Up on the Front of Ideology and Culture," that since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, ideological and political work has in general been done well for the intellectuals and other workers on the education, science, and culture front, and the main current is healthy. However, there is no denying that, for various reasons, ideological and political work has not been given much attention in certain departments and units, and it has even been very greatly weakened. This has caused varying degrees of unhealthy phenomena of loose ideology, slack discipline, passive work, and the practice of "looking for money in everything" in many units, together with certain liberalization tendencies. We must attach a high degree of importance to the existence of these problems.

The article points out that the specific tasks undertaken by the education, science and culture departments and enterprises differ greatly; moreover, there are great variations in the degree of awareness and organization among the personnel of different departments and sectors, [phrase indistinct].

CSO: 4005/1041

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

RENMIN RIBAO ON DENG'S VIEWS ON LITERATURE, ART

HK250841 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO In Chinese 19 Jul 83 p 5

[Commentator's article: "A Correct Program for Socialist Literature and Art During the New Period--Studying the Important Ideas Concerning Problems of Literature and Art in 'Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping' (Part One)"--passages within slantlines published in boldface]

[Text] Recently, the CPC Central Committee has issued a circular concerning the whole party's study of the "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping." This appeal by the party bears great practical significance for the whole party and the whole body of literary and art workers.

The "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" is an important scientific work on Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought at a new stage of the development of our party. If it is seriously and thoroughly studied, the line adopted by the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee will certainly strike root in the hearts of the people and our understanding of policy, ideological understanding, and theoretical knowledge will certainly improve and become the strong spiritual motive power for creating a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization.

The "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" has substantial content. It covers many subjects, such as political, philosophical, economic, scientific, educational, literary, and artistic issues, united front work, military affairs, party building, and so on.

Four articles, "Emancipate the Mind, Seek Truth From Facts, Unite as One and Look Forward," "Adhere to the Four Cardinal Principles," "Greetings to the Fourth National Congress of Chinese Writers and Artists," and "On Questions on the Ideological Front," have directly expounded the problems arising from ideological work, theoretical work, and the work in the literary and artistic fields and put forward many important strategic ideas and a series of principles and policies concerning ideological and cultural construction. They constitute a correct program for socialist literature and art during the new period. The earnest study and understanding of their spiritual substance

and the implementation of it in our work in the literary and artistic fields will play an important role in the development of socialist literature and art during the new period.

What kind of ideas in the "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" warrant the attention of literary and art workers?

/Persist in emancipating the mind, adhere to the four cardinal principles, and implement the orientation that literature and art serve the people and socialism./ Since the smashing of the "gang of four" and, in particular, since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, Comrade Deng Xiaoping has asked the whole party to emancipate thinking, break the fetters, return to the ideological line of seeking truth from facts, and give enthusiastic support to the debate on the criteria of truth, which bears profound significance. This plays a decisive role in reestablishing the Marxist ideological line, in clearing away the "leftist" ideological obstacles such as the "two whatevers," and so on, and in carrying forward the task of setting things to rights on all fronts, including the literary and artistic fronts. Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out that: The principles of emancipating the mind and of seeking truth from facts are an important political issue which determines the future and fate of the party and the state. "Without the emancipation of the mind, we cannot correctly solve, under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, the problems left over by the past and the series of new problems, we cannot correctly reform the production relations and the superstructure which are not suited to the rapid development of productive forces, and we cannot correctly formulate the specific paths, principles, methods, and measures for the implementation of the four modernizations according to the actual circumstances of our country." "Without the elimination of rigid ideas and without the emancipations of the minds of the cadres and the people, there will be no hope for the four modernizations." In order to implement the four modernizations smoothly, Comrade Deng Xiaoping has put forward the issue of adhering to the four cardinal principles. Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out that: In order to implement the four modernizations, it is necessary to adhere to the four cardinal principles both politically and ideologically. That means, it is necessary to uphold the socialist road, the dictatorship of the proletariat, leadership by the party, and Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. This is the fundamental prerequisite for the implementation of the four modernizations.

The emancipation of the mind and the adherence to the four cardinal principles, as proposed by Comrade Deng Xiaoping in the same period, carry the same spirit. They are the political basis for the unity of the whole party, the whole country and people of all nationalities. In addition, they are the guiding principles for all work. In order to implement the socialist modernizations, we must persist in emancipating the mind; in order to make socialist literature and art flourish, we must also persist in emancipating the mind. However, at the same time, in striving to implement the four modernizations and in our work in the literary and artistic fields, it is necessary to adhere to the four cardinal principles strictly and to fight resolutely against the trends

of thought which are not in keeping with the four cardinal principles. This is the fundamental guiding principle for our implementation of the four modernizations and for our socialist literature and art during the new period,

The adherence to the orientation that literature and art should serve the people and socialism is an embodiment of the adherence to the four cardinal principles in the spheres of literature and art. Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out that: "We must continue to adhere to the orientation put forward by Comrade Mao Zedong that literature and art should serve the broadest masses of people and serve the workers, peasants, and soldiers first." In addition, he emphasized that: "The leadership exercised by the party over work in the literary and artistic fields should not be exercised by giving orders and instructions or by subordinating literature and art to temporary, specific, and direct political tasks. We must, in the light of the characteristics of literature and according to the laws of their development, help the literary and art workers acquire the conditions for continuously making literature and art flourish, for improving the quality of art and literature, and for producing fine literary and artistic works and making achievements in the performing arts without disappointing the people and the times." Thus, he has put forward an important guiding principle for correctly solving the problem of the relationship between literature, art, politics, and the people. On the basis of this principle put forward by Comrade Deng Xiaoping, the CPC Central Committee later put forward in clearer terms the orientation that "literature and art should be for the people and socialism," or that literature and art should serve the people and socialism, during the new period. This constitutes the development of the party's and Comrade Mao Zedong's thinking on literature and art under the new historical conditions. In recent years, our literary and art workers have adhered to the orientation that "literature and art should be for the people and socialism" and socialist literature and art have been greatly developed. However, in the sphere of literature and art, there was also the tendency of bourgeois liberalization and the completely commercialized tendency of "putting money first in everything" while no attention was paid to their social effects. These tendencies are incompatible with the orientation that literature and art should serve the people and socialism. We should pay close attention to and be on guard against these tendencies and adopt effective measures to correct them earnestly.

/Give full play to the special role played by literature and art in the new period and make positive contributions to building a high level of socialist spiritual civilization./ The 12th CPC National Congress simultaneously put forward the building of a socialist material civilization and the building of a high level of socialist material civilization and has made them the goal of struggle of the whole party. This is a new development in scientific socialism. The idea was first put forward by Comrade Deng Xiaoping. He has discussed this question from many points of view. Speaking of the role played by literature and art in building a socialist spiritual civilization, Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out that: "In implementing this magnificent cause, there is ample room for the development of literature and art.

Literature and art bear the responsibilities for meeting the needs of the people in their spiritual life, for fostering new socialists, and for heightening the ideological, cultural, and moral levels of society. All these responsibilities cannot be replaced by the functions of other departments." The role played by literature and art in building a socialist spiritual civilization cannot be replaced by the functions of other departments because they have their own laws of development and characteristics.

Comrade Deng Xiaoping is fully aware of the ability characteristic of literature and art to transform and educate people subtly through artistic images. Therefore, he emphatically put forward the issue of striving to build up the images of the new socialists. He pointed out that: "Our literature and art should devote more efforts to describing and fostering the new socialists, thus, great results can be achieved." In recent years, our writers have created in their works a whole series of images of the new socialists which have played an extremely important role in arousing the socialist enthusiasm of the masses and in motivating them to take part in the creative activities of the four modernizations. However, there are a few people who fail to realize the significance and functions of literature and art from the high plane of building a socialist spiritual civilization, who fail to strengthen their sense of social responsibility, and who fail to create more and better nourishment of the mind which the masses love to see and hear. On the contrary, they regard their works or performances as the means by which they seek fame and wealth. We should continuously criticize such erroneous tendencies and guide the literary and art workers to continue to work hard and to make more contributions to the building of a socialist spiritual civilization.

/Strive to build a strong, united, and combat-worthy rank of writers and artists and give full play to the enthusiasm and creativity of the literary and art workers./ The "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" includes many articles on building the ranks for implementing the four socialist modernizations. Comrade Deng Xiaoping pays close attention to the party's policy toward intellectuals. He clearly pointed out that it is necessary to create within the party an atmosphere of respecting knowledge and talented people. Proceeding from the Marxist view that science and technology are productive forces, he has criticized the extreme leftist line adopted by Lin Biao, Jiang Qing, and others in handling the issue of intellectuals and scientifically pointed out that both socialist mental workers and manual workers are laborers and that most intellectuals have become a part of the working class and the working people. Speaking of the appraisal of the ranks of writers and artists, Comrade Deng Xiaoping has refuted the absurd idea of "dictatorship of the sinister line" and reiterated on behalf of the CPC Central Committee that: "In the 17 years before the Great Cultural Revolution, our line in literature and art was basically correct and there were notable achievements in literature and art." Since the smashing of the "gang of four," "the literary and art circles have made outstanding achievements. The literary and art workers deserve the trust, love and respect of the party and the people. The vigorous trials of the storm of struggles have proven that our

ranks of writers and artists are good. The party and the people feel happy that they have such ranks of writers and artists." This correct appraisal is completely in keeping with reality. The literary and art workers are profoundly educated and greatly encouraged by it and their self-confidence and sense of responsibility enhanced. On the basis of the strategic goal of the development of socialist literature and art, Comrade Deng Xiaoping has set strict demands on the building of the ranks of writers and artists, asking all the literary and art workers to adhere to the four cardinal principles, to study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought earnestly, and to sharpen their ability to understand life, analyze life, and see through the appearance of things to the essence. He hoped that "more and more writers and artists will become engineers of the mind who are worthy of the name"; "wished the ranks of writers and artists ever growing unity and strength"; and urged all levels of leadership to "pay close attention to the training of writers and artists" and to give full play to the mainstay role of the middle-aged literary and art workers. All these guiding ideas bear strategic significance in developing socialist literature and art during the new period. In our practical work, we should strive to follow Comrade Deng Xiaoping's ideas, make our work more successful, and turn our literary and art circles into a united, strong, and combat-worthy force. We should have seen that at present, in the literary and art circles, there exist the phenomena of impurities in ideology, style, and organization, of bourgeois liberalization, of extreme individualism, of the scramble for fame and wealth, of anarchism, of paying no attention to professional ethics, personality, and the national image, of economic and cultural crimes, and so on. Although all these are minor problems, we should pay attention to them and adopt effective measures to overcome them.

/Correctly wage struggles on the two fronts of the work in the literary and artistic fields and ensure that our literature and art forge ahead along the path pointed out by the party./ The front of literature and art is like all other fronts in that various trends of thought and the "leftist" and rightist tendencies exists. Thus, it is necessary to wage struggle on two fronts. Our literature and art have been under the influence of "leftist" ideas for a long time and in practical work, the phenomena of oversimplification and vulgarity and the pernicious influence of "leftist" ideas have not been completely liquidated. In addition, because of the corrosive influence of imported capitalist ideas and culture and the influence of bourgeois liberalization, it is true that in recent years, in the literary and arts circles, there have been vulgar works which violate the four cardinal principles and produce bad social effects; on the theoretical side, erroneous and harmful views have also emerged. Thus, an important feature of our work in the literary and artistic fields is to wage struggles on two fronts. We must wage principled struggles against the erroneous "leftist" and rightist tendencies in the world of literature and art.

How should we wage ideological struggles in the world of literature and art? There is one question concerning guiding ideology and leadership for literature and art. Comrade Deng Xiaoping pays close attention to the struggles on two fronts in the literary and artistic fields. The "Selected Works

of Deng Xiaoping" includes many penetrating articles on waging struggles on the two fronts. First, it is necessary to fight against the erroneous "leftist" and rightist tendencies. Comrade Deng Xiaoping said: "We must resolutely and solemnly criticize all the erroneous tendencies," "we cannot throw away the weapon of criticism." "We must be sober-minded and be on guard against the people from the 'left' or from the right. They always try to bring about unrest and to destroy the situation of stability and unity by all means. We must also be on guard against the erroneous tendencies which are not in keeping with the interests and desires of the majority of people." It is necessary to "create forceful public opinion within the whole society in order to make the people maintain sharp vigilance, understand the harmfulness of these tendencies, and unite as one in resisting, condemning, and fighting against them." Second, it is necessary to pay attention to the methods of liquidating these erroneous tendencies. Comrade Deng Xiaoping said: "In handling the problems which have just emerged, we must draw on past experience but not carry out mass movements. We must appropriately but not indiscriminately understand and handle the people who have made mistakes and the nature and seriousness of their mistakes. Methods of criticism must be refined and criticism should be carried out appropriately. We must not jointly attack people or carry out mass movements." Third, it is necessary to strengthen the party's leadership over the work in the literary and artistic fields. Comrade Deng Xiaoping strongly emphasizes that all levels of party committees should make a success of their leadership over the work in the literary and artistic fields. It is necessary to adhere to the dialectical materialist ideological line, to analyze the positive and negative experiences on the basis of the history of the development of literature and art in the past 30 years, to shake off all the fetters of all kinds of restrictions and conventions, and to study the new situation and solve new problems according to the characteristics of our country during the new historical period. It is necessary to encourage the exchange of ideas between the leaders and the literary and art workers on an equal footing. All these views of Comrade Deng Xiaoping are important guiding ideas. Since the smashing of the "gang of four," in exercising leadership over the struggle against all kinds of erroneous tendencies on the theoretical, ideological, literary, and artistic fronts, central leading comrades such as Deng Xiaoping and Hu Yaobang have adhered to the dialectical materialist ideological line and realistic and practical work methods, achieved genuine success in "straightening out thinking and uniting the comrades," and made the literary and art workers feel happy. All these are also the results of the CPC Central Committee's adherence to the socialist orientation, its resolute implementation of the principle of "letting a hundred flowers bloom and a hundred schools of thought contend," its persistence in correctly resolving the contradictions among the people, and its adherence to democracy in literature and art.

The "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" is an important Marxist document of China and it has reflected the new results of the application and development of Marxism in our country. Comrade Deng Xiaoping's expositions on literature and art are the development of Marx' theory of literature and Comrade Mao Zedong's thinking on literature under new historical circumstances. We must assiduously study its rich and profound contents and earnestly apply them to our work in the literary and artistic fields in order to make our socialist literature and art continue to flourish.

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

RENMIN RIBAO RECALLS WAR AGAINST JAPAN

HK291537 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 25 Jul 83 p 5

["Study Some History of the Republic of China" column by Yin Min [0076 3046]: "The Victory in the War of Resistance Against Japanese Aggression"]

[Text] After 8 years of extremely difficult struggle, the Chinese people finally defeated the Japanese aggressors and won victory in the War of Resistance Against Japanese Aggression. This victory was inseparable from the victory in the antifascist world war. From 1944 to the first half of 1945 was the period in which the antifascist world war saw successive victories and finally the defeat of the German fascists. In this period, the Soviet Red Army, after driving the German aggressors out of its country, advanced in the flush of victory, rapidly liberated the East European countries, and entered Germany in September 1944. In June of the same year, the British-American allied forces landed in France and opened the second battlefield. On 2 May 1945, the Soviet Red Army conquered Berlin, and on 8 May of that year, Germany unconditionally surrendered. In 1944, in the Pacific Ocean arena, the U.S. Army successively landed on the Marshall Islands, the Caroline Islands, the Mariana Islands, and Saipan Island, and in the Philippines. In April 1945, the U.S. Army landed on Okinawa, and this was a threat to Japan. The developments in the antifascist world war and the surrender of the German fascists in particular, were beneficial to the Chinese people's War of Resistance Against Japanese Aggression. The downfall of the Japanese fascists was just around the corner.

But at a time when the antifascist world war was developing victoriously, in the KMT-ruled areas, politics was corrupt in the extreme, the economy was utterly depressed, the army's combat effectiveness was low, and the people lived in destitution. The large-scale defeat of the KMT in the battlefields in Henan, Hunan, and Guangxi in 1944 was a total exposure of its dark and corrupt features. A striking contrast to this was the victorious development of the CPC-led Eighth-Route Army, the New Fourth Army, and anti-Japanese aggression bases in the enemy's rear. Up to April 1945, in the 19 liberated areas which had been built, there were 910,000 regular soldiers and 2.2 million militiamen, and the population was 95.5 million. Not only did the liberated areas and the people's armed forces become the mainstay in the War of Resistance Against Japanese Aggression, they also guaranteed that the victory in the War of Resistance Against Japanese Aggression would be the victory of the people.

At that time, China was one of the five large nations which took part in the antifascist war. China and the United States were allied nations. But because the KMT Government endlessly relied on U.S. weapons, money, and politics to maintain its rule, China remained a semicolonial which was dependent on the U.S. imperialists. United States policy on China was as follows: On the one hand, in order to use China's manpower and material resources to resist Japanese aggression, and to reduce the military pressure on the U.S. Army in the Pacific, from 1942, the U.S. Government constantly provided the KMT Government with loans and leased materials, and trained military personnel for it. In February 1944, the U.S. Government provided a loan of \$500 million for the KMT Government. In June of that year, the KMT and U.S. Governments signed the "Sino-U.S. Lease Agreement." In December of the same year, the U.S. Government helped the KMT Government found "China ground force general headquarters" in Kunming, and dispatched a large number of personnel to help Chiang Kai-shek train and equip his army. On the other hand, under the pretence of "providing aid for China," the U.S. Government expanded its aggression in China and gradually controlled the KMT Government in the hope of replacing Japan and occupying China when the war was over. For this purpose, besides energetically propping up Chiang Kai-shek, the U.S. Government, through "mediating" in the relations between the KMT and the CPC, pretended to act as a third party in an attempt to talk the CPC into surrendering its armed forces so as to clear away obstacles to U.S. aggression. It was for this purpose that U.S. Consul Hurley carried out activities in China from October 1944 to November 1945.

The Soviet Union's participation in the War of Resistance Against Japanese Aggression by dispatching troops to northeast China shortened to a large extent the period of the war. In February 1945, Stalin of the Soviet Union, Roosevelt of the United States, and Churchill of Great Britain held a summit conference at Yalta. This conference adopted relevant agreements concerning the Soviet Union's participation in the war against Japan two or three months after Germany surrendered. Based on the Yalta Conference, the KMT and Soviet Governments signed, on 14 August, the "Sino-Soviet Friendship and Alliance Treaty," which stipulated that China and the Soviet Union would cooperate in the war against Japan, and that after the war, measures should be taken to deprive Japan of the capability to carry out aggression again. During the Sino-Soviet negotiations, leading figures of the Soviet Union, Great Britain, and the United States held a conference in Potsdam. On 26 July, in the name of China, the United States, and Great Britain, the "Potsdam Proclamation" was issued, urging Japan to surrender. But the Japanese fascists refused to accept the "Potsdam Proclamation" and wanted to resist stubbornly. On 6 August, the United States dropped the first A-bomb on Japan. But this A-bomb did not make Japan surrender. On 8 August, the Soviet Union declared war on Japan. On 9 August, the Soviet Red Army, 1 million strong, under the unified command of Marshal (Huaxiliefisiji) [5478 6007 0441 1133 2448 1015], Soviet Far East supreme commander, entered northeast China by three routes. The Soviet Union's participation in the war deprived Japan of the basis to resist stubbornly. Therefore, Japan was forced rapidly to declare its surrender. On 10 August, the Japanese Government issued a note, begging to surrender. On 14 August, the Mikado formerly declared Japan's unconditional surrender. But the Japanese

Army did not lay down its arms. Therefore, the Soviet Army continued its planned attack. In more than 20 days of battle, the Soviet Army liberated the whole of northeast China, captured more than 594,000 of the enemy, and killed over 80,000.

The Soviet Union's dispatching troops to northeast China enabled the War of Resistance Against Japanese Aggression to immediately enter the period of overall counteroffensive. On 10 August, the Yanan headquarters issued orders to the Eighth-Route Army, the New Fourth Army, and other people's armies to launch overall attacks on the enemy. Within 2 months, our army captured and killed more than 230,000 enemy and puppet soldiers, took back 190 enemy-occupied cities, and recovered 310,000 square km of land, which included the liberation of Rehe and Chahaerl Provinces. Most of the régions in Shandong, Hebei, Suiyuan, Shanxi, northern Henan, northern and southern Anhui, and northern and central Jiangsu were recovered by the people's army, with the exception of a small number of large and medium-sized cities, which were occupied by the KMT.

But at a time when the army and people in the liberated areas were carrying out large-scale counterattacks against Japanese aggression, the Chiang Kai-shek-led KMT sprang down from the Emei Mountains in a frenzied attempt to rob the people of the fruits of victory. At that time, enemy-occupied cities, towns, and main communications lines were surrounded by the liberated areas and the people's army. The KMT army was far away in the rear areas in southwest and northwest China. In order to stop enemy and puppet troops from surrendering to the people's army, on 10 August, Chiang Kai-shek issued orders that the commander of the enemy troops stationed in China, (Yasuji Okamura), "must maintain the status quo" and that enemy and puppet troops "must not surrender until they received orders from a government-appointed military officer." On 11 August, Chiang Kai-shek gave commander-in-chief Zhi De an order, demanding that the Eighth-Route Army "wait for orders where it was" and forbidding the Eighth-Route Army to take "unauthorized action" against enemy and puppet troops. Chiang Kai-shek also ordered the puppet troops to be "responsible for maintaining public order." He called the puppet troops "underground troops" and appointed traitors as "commanders." To occupy important strategic points, the U.S. imperialists dispatched a large number of airplanes and ships to transport the KMT troops which had long been stationed in Yunnan, Guizhou, Sichuan, and Shaanxi to large cities in the enemy-occupied areas, and to the front, for attacking the liberated areas. Thus, the Chinese people, after having undergone 8 years of the War of Resistance Against Japanese Aggression, were confronted with a serious civil war crisis.

On 2 September 1945, the signing ceremony for Japan's surrender was held on board the Missouri Flag battleship, which was lying at anchor in Tokyo Bay. Thus, 3 September has become the commemoration day for the victory in the War of Resistance against Japanese Aggression.

Through 8 years of hard struggle, the Chinese people suffered great sacrifices. According to available statistics, the number of people wounded and killed was as high as 18 million (excluding the number of soldiers wounded and killed), and the loss of property was \$60 billion. The victory of the Chinese people's War of Resistance Against Japanese Aggression was a hard-won victory. It has added a heroic and glorious chapter to the annals of Chinese history.

CSO: 4005/1041

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

LEADERS HAIL REPORTS ON INTELLECTUAL DEVELOPMENT

OW300948 [Editorial Report] Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese at 0752 GMT on 29 July transmits a "public notice," which reads: "In accordance with the central leading comrades' opinion, on 25 July XINHUA transmitted a report on the Hubei accounting society and a commentary entitled: 'Developing Intellectual Resources With Intellectual Resources.' XINHUA today transmits a newsletter entitled 'Zhang Yuankui, a brave pioneer,' and a commentary entitled 'In addition to Good Intentions, One Must Also Have Perseverance.' All papers and broadcasting stations please attend to the transmission."

The report mentioned in the above notice was transmitted by Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese at 1445 GMT on 25 July. The 900-word report deals with the success of the Hubei accounting society in training a large number of needed accountants by mobilizing the efforts of its members; who are financial and accounting specialists working for schools of higher education, research institutions, and large enterprises in Wuhan; and by publishing journals and books, sponsoring all types of training classes, and even by producing a TV drama on "the positive image of accountants."

According to the report, "not long ago, a leading comrade of the central authorities lauded the society's performance, pointing out that today we must not only develop intellectual resources with financial resources alone, we must develop intellectual resources with intellectual resources."

Earlier, Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese at 1438 GMT on 25 July transmitted a 500-word article by an unnamed XINHUA commentator, entitled: "Developing Intellectual Resources With Intellectual Resources," pointing out that, since China is still a country with a weak economic foundation, intellectual development should be on the basis of achieving greater and quicker results with a limited amount of investment. The commentary praises the Hubei accounting society for having successfully trained many useful personnel with a limited initial investment of "several thousand yuan." It says: "While the state will gradually increase its investment in intellectual development, our country's economic situation today does not permit us to make a large increase in investments in this field or give first priority to such investments. To resolve this problem, aside from spending as much money as we can afford on intellectual development, we must rely on fully utilizing existing intellectual resources for intellectual development."

Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese at 1252 GMT on 29 July transmits a 2,700-word newsletter introducing Zhang Yuankui, deputy secretary general of the Hubei accounting society. Entitled: "The Brave Pioneer," the newsletter gives an account of how the 47-year-old Zhang, a "controversial personality," went against all odds to set up the Hubei accounting society, publish books and journals, and produce television programs with the sole objective of training more competent accountants for the country, realizing that "90 percent of the accountants of the local industrial enterprises, and financial and trade establishments had not even been trained at secondary professional schools." The newsletter also cites short episodes to describe Zhang's drive and how his enthusiasm to serve the society was repeatedly discouraged by slanders spread by some people who envied his society's success.

Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese at 1221 GMT on 29 July transmits a 600-word commentary by an unnamed XINHUA commentator, attributing the success of the Hubei accounting society to its deputy secretary general, Zhang Yuankui, saying that he is "a man who does solid work, a pioneer, whose talents are very, very much needed today."

Entitled: "In Addition to Good Intentions, One Must Also Have Perseverance," the author of this commentary quoted "a leading comrade of the central authorities" who praised the Hubei accounting society by saying: "The reason so many comrades who wanted to do something for the country failed to create a new situation in their work was that they had only good intentions but not the required perseverance." The commentary notes: "The important reason behind the Hubei accounting society's accomplishments is Zhang Yuankui, its deputy secretary general, who has both good intentions and perseverance."

The commentary concludes: "Comrades assuming leading posts at all levels must warmly encourage and support people to display and cultivate such pioneering spirits. Certain people who have this strong point often have this or that kind of shortcoming. Some of these people even have certain peculiar temperaments, but the leading comrades must attach more importance to the needs of our work, and try to understand the true nature of these comrades, and cherish and assist them so as to bring their talents into play, overcome their shortcomings, and do an even better job in creating a new situation for the four modernizations."

CSO: 4005/1041

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

ACADEMY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES STUDIES DENG'S WORKS

OW220633 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0743 GMT 16 Jul 83

[Report by Wu Huijing]

[Excerpts] Leaders and scientific researchers at all levels of the China Academy of Social Sciences are conscientiously studying the "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping." They maintain that the underlying spirit of the selected works has upheld and carried forward Mao Zedong Thought and is extremely important for guiding the four modernizations and research in social science.

At a recent symposium, President Ma Hong of the academy said: Building a socialist country with distinctive Chinese features needs correct theoretical guidance. Integrating the universal truth of Marxism with the actual conditions of our socialist construction, the "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" has comprehensively and systematically expounded on major theoretical and practical questions of China's socialist modernization in China in terms of ideological, political and organizational lines and on basic principles and policies. He urged all the workers of the academy, particularly the scientific researchers, to study hard the "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" and to write theoretical articles to help large numbers of cadres and people better understand and grasp the essence of the "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping."

Wu Jiajun, deputy director of the Industrial and Economic Research Institute, said: The concept of proceeding from reality and following China's own road in modernizing itself as set forth in the "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" is an important guarantee for achieving the goal of building a modern, powerful state. It is of great theoretical and practical value for us in building socialism with distinctive Chinese features.

CSO: 4005/1041

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

LIAO CHENGZHI SPEECH ON INTELLECTUALS IN HONGQI

HK010527 Beijing ZHONGGUO XINWEN SHE in Chinese 0248 GMT 1 Aug 83

[Text] Beijing, 1 Aug (ZHONGGUO XINWEN SHE)--To mark the death of Liao Chengzhi, HONGQI No 15, which is published today, carries a speech delivered by Liao Chengzhi at a national discussion meeting on work concerning intellectuals among returned Overseas Chinese and dependents of Overseas Chinese living abroad held on 28 April this year.

The editor of this journal said: Over a long period of time, Liao Chengzhi devoted himself to consolidating and developing the patriotic united front, which includes Taiwan compatriots, Hong Kong and Macao compatriots, and Overseas Chinese living abroad, and made important contributions to the undertaking of the motherland's unity and reunification. For a long period of time, he was responsible for the party's work concerning Overseas Chinese. During this period, he resolutely implemented the party's policies concerning Overseas Chinese, was concerned with and defended the just rights and interests of Overseas Chinese living abroad, and was concerned with and defended the legitimate rights and interests of returned Overseas Chinese and dependents of Overseas Chinese living abroad. In accordance with the party's policies toward intellectuals, Liao Chengzhi profoundly expounded in this speech the great significance of intellectuals among returned Overseas Chinese and dependents of Overseas Chinese living abroad for socialist modernization in our country during the new period. The speech is also important in guiding us to do a good job in work concerning Overseas Chinese and intellectuals and in implementing the party's policies and principles concerned.

Liao Chengzhi's speech includes the following three points:

--We should have a new understanding toward work concerning intellectuals in the new historical period;

--Intellectuals among returned Overseas Chinese and dependents of Overseas Chinese living abroad should receive greater respect and should be better taken care of;

--Strengthening work concerning intellectuals among returned Overseas Chinese and dependents of Overseas Chinese living abroad is an important task in work concerning Overseas Chinese in the new period.

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

GUANGMING RIBAO ON DENG, LITERATURE, ART

HK290738 Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 19 Jul 83 p 2

[Article by Wen Li [5113 3810]: "The Guiding Policy for Promoting and Developing the Literature and Art of the New Period--Reading 'Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping'"]

[Text] From the establishment of new China until the downfall of the "gang of four," China's socialist art and literature have experienced and traveled a tortuous and twisting road. How can we learn from this stage of history and ensure that art and literature continue along the correct path towards stable development and prosperity?

Comrade Deng Xiaoping said, "We must uphold the ideological line of dialectical materialism and analyze the positive and the negative experiences of the last 30 years of development in art and literature, shaking off the fetters of various rules and conventions and researching new situations and solving new problems on the basis of the characteristics of this new period in history." This then is the task that Comrade Deng Xiaoping has given all artists and writers, especially artists and writers in the party and art and literature leadership cadres. Comrade Deng Xiaoping's words have become a model for the entire party.

Concerning the Struggle on Two Fronts, Namely 'To Oppose the 'Left' and the Right'

"Left" or right? Ideological ossification and semi-ossification or liberalization? These are important questions which frequently need our attention. Naturally this does not mean, by any means, that whenever we write articles or make speeches we have to stick to "left" and right, but, when we are grasping the essentials from the mass of complex details within art and literature, when we are handling questions and solving problems in accordance with the party's policies on art and literature, and when we are considering problems of tendentiousness on the art and literature battle front, we simply cannot avoid asking the question "left" or right, ossification or liberalization.

These are not some rules or conventions subjectively fabricated by some individual. They are the experiences of history. Judging from the real situation in China's political, ideological and cultural front lines, "leftist" things are deeply rooted, while rightist things are of long standing and firmly established. Within the developmental process of any undertaking

it is impossible to avoid the necessity for correcting erroneous tendencies and the correction of one erroneous tendency often results in one erroneous tendency concealing another. This is a very regularized phenomenon. In terms of guiding ideologies, the inevitable need to uphold dialectical materialist methods and oppose any form of metaphysics becomes an important indication of our ability to uphold the party's ideological line and is also an important indication of the degree of maturity of our artistic and literary leaders.

At a seminar on theoretical work in 1979, Comrade Deng Xiaoping made a very incisive speech entitled "Uphold the Four Fundamental Principles." In it he said that in the future we will have to continue to criticize the extreme "leftist" ideological currents of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and that we cannot let up. He also said that we should carry out criticism "of ideological trends from the right which show doubt for or oppose the four fundamental principles." In March 1981 in his speech entitled "The Question of Opposing Erroneous Ideological Tendencies," he said even more clearly than we "must criticize 'leftist' erroneous ideologies and we must also criticize rightist erroneous ideologies." "Thus we must oppose the 'left' and the right," "when 'leftism' appears we must oppose 'leftism' and when rightism appears we must oppose rightism." He went on to advise us that "when writing articles we must take note of these two sides," "correcting 'leftist' tendencies and rightist tendencies should become a normal part of the 'program.'"

Today the task of restoring order out of chaos has already been completed for the party's guiding ideology. Looking at the overall situation in the art and literature front line we can no longer consider that any "leftist" or rightist tendencies still exist in any important positions. However, within our specific work, both "leftist" and rightist tendencies still exist and we must stop these two tendencies and wage a struggle along two fronts. Only in this way can we, ourselves, become alert, steadfast, and worthwhile Marxists on the front line of art and literature.

Concerning Upholding and Developing Mao Zedong Artistic and Literary Thought

Mao Zedong artistic and literary thought is an integrated and component part of Mao Zedong Thought. Since the 1940's it has been China's guiding ideology for revolutionary art and literature. However, after the 1950's, some of Mao Zedong's judgments on various problems related to art and literature became detached from his own correct ideology. This was especially true during the "Cultural Revolution," when the destruction and misrepresentation wrought by Lin Biao, Chiang Qing, and their counterrevolutionary cronies caused the correct parts of Mao Zedong artistic and literary thought to be twisted and separate while some of Mao Zedong's incorrect opinions concerning questions related to art and literature were used for ulterior motives.

Thus we are faced with having to ask ourselves, that is the correct way of handling Mao Zedong artistic and literary thought? Is Mao Zedong artistic and literary thought still effective and valid?

In July 1977, after the smashing of the "gang of four," Comrade Deng Xiaoping said "we must gain a correct understanding of the entire system of

Mao Zedong Thought," "and as far as each individual area and aspect is concerned we must accurately and completely understand Mao Zedong Thought." Way back in 1975, when Comrade Deng Xiaoping was already waging a struggle against the "gang of four," he expressed his opposition to the separating of Mao Zedong Thought and advocated complete understanding of Mao Zedong Thought. He said, "we must readjust policies concerning literature and art" and he sharply pointed out after the fall of Lin Biao that the problem of separating Mao Zedong Thought "has in fact not been resolved," "for example, as far as artistic and literary principles are concerned, Comrade Mao Zedong said that the past must serve the present, foreign things must serve China, a hundred flowers should bloom, and the old should be weeded to bring forth the new. This was very comprehensive but today the blooming of a hundred flowers is no longer mentioned and indeed does not exist. This is separation, or cutting apart."

During our party's and people's struggle against the "gang of four's" misinterpretations of Mao Zedong Thought, some people publically opposed the fundamental tenets of Marxism-Leninism and also Mao Zedong Thought. Comrade Deng Xiaoping quickly and timely made the call to "advance forever with the banner of Mao Zedong Thought held high." In 1980 he once again, with accuracy and precision, called for "the upholding and development of Mao Zedong Thought."

"To uphold and develop Mao Zedong Thought." This is the conclusion that our party has reached after a long period of revolutionary and construction practice and as a result of 30 years of experience and lessons. "To uphold and develop" is the only correct stance to take in handling Mao Zedong literary and is also the only correct stance to take in handling Mao Zedong literary and artistic thought. It is wrong not to uphold the fundamental principles of Mao Zedong literary and artistic thought and it is wrong to adopt a doctrinaire attitude towards Mao Zedong literary and artistic thought. The only correct path for the smooth development of China's art and literature is to uphold and develop Mao Zedong literary and artistic thought and to handle Mao Zedong literary and artistic thought absolutely correctly and not to separate it. The general call from the party Central Committee to use literature and art to serve the people and serve socialism has surmounted the call for literature and art to serve the workers, peasants, and soldiers and to serve proletariat politics, and this has given limitless scope for the prosperous development of art and literature in the new historic period.

Concerning Upholding and Improving Party Leadership

Supporting the leadership of the Communist Party was originally never questioned within literary and artistic circles in China, but the 10 years of chaos and the damage this caused art and literature have meant that people are reconsidering certain questions. A small number of people have expressed doubt and have even adopted a position of denial on the necessity for socialist art and literature to be led by the Communist Party.

Comrade Deng Xiaoping said "the core of upholding the four fundamental principles is upholding the party's leadership. "Without the Chinese Communist Party's leadership who will organize the socialist economy, politics, military affairs, and culture?"

[Word indistinct] upholding the party's leadership in art and literature is not the entire problem. Comrade Deng Xiaoping said "in order to uphold the party's leadership we must perfect party leadership and improve the party work style." In saying "uphold the party's leadership and perfect party leadership," Comrade Deng Xiaoping outlined the problem in its entirety and produced the answer. Such a conclusion is inevitable on the basis of both the positive and negative experiences within the literary and artistic movement over the last 30 years and in view of new problems and new situations under new circumstances.

Comrade Deng Xiaoping made a series of comments and judgments of a scientific nature on how to uphold and perfect party leadership, for example, that art and literature should not be asked to be subordinate to ad hoc, concrete, and immediate political tasks, but rather artists and writers should be helped to create outstanding work on the basis of the characteristics and developmental laws of art and literature; that artists and writers should be helped to continue to emancipate their thinking and uphold a correct political direction and that there should be comprehensive guarantees to enable artists and writers to fully express their talents and wisdom; that leaders and artists and writers should carry out fair and equal exchanges of views and artists and writers who belong to the party should use their own creative achievements as models and examples; that all writers and artists should be united to advance and develop forward together; that the intellectuals have now become a part of the working class; that leadership departments should shake off the "yamen" [government office in feudal China] work style and that administrative commands should be abolished in artistic creation and criticism; that there should be no violent or willful intervention into what a writer writes or how something is written; and so on. All of these comments and judgments are accurate elaborations of how to uphold and perfect party leadership in the artistic and literary front line. If we act in accordance with these scientific judgments by Comrade Deng Xiaoping, then our art and literature will without doubt see further development and prosperity. However, if these comments and judgments are ignored and there is a divergence from party leadership in some area or another or in some tendency or another, the socialist artistic and literary undertaking will be ruined.

On the premise of upholding and perfecting party leadership, Comrade Deng Xiaoping also hoped that all socialist and patriotic artists and writers and all artists and writers with the common cause of protecting the motherland would help each other and learn from each other and unite together and work hard to make socialist art and literature prosper and develop.

Concerning the Noncontinuation of Regarding Art and Literature as Subordinate to Politics and Concerning the Inability To Separate Art and Literature From Politics

The question of how we should understand the relationship between art and literature and politics is a major question which directly affects the correct or incorrect development of art and literature in this new period. Comrade Deng Xiaoping said "we should not continue the call for art and literature to be subordinate to politics because this call can very easily become the theoretical basis for willful intervention in art and literature. Many years of practice have proved that this is of little benefit and is of great damage to art and literature.

However, this does not, of course, mean that art and literature can be separate from politics. Art and literature cannot be separated from politics. All progressive and revolutionary artists and writers have to consider the social effects of their work, and they have to consider the interests of the people, the state and the party."

These words of Deng Xiaoping provide a dialectic and materialist solution to this important, realistic, and theoretical question of the relations between art and literature and politics. They have scientifically assessed historical experiences and have provided guiding ideology and theoretical weaponry for correcting all kinds of unhealthy tendencies. We must come to understand very well the essential spirit of these words. It should be said that all points of view which maintain that art and literature is subordinate to politics are narrow-minded, and all views which consider that no relations between art and literature and politics, or even consider that the further from politics that art and literature are, the better, are incorrect.

The "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" also discusses other problems within the art and literature battle front, such as the fact that art and literature should maintain close relations with the people's lives since "the people are the mothers of artists and writers"; that artists and writers should work hard to study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought; that the policy of letting a hundred schools of thought contend should be steadfastly implemented; that artistic and literary criticism should be correctly developed; that capitalist culture should be handled correctly; that artistic and literary tradition should be handled correctly; that knowledge and talented people should be respected; and so on. Comrade Deng Xiaoping also said that "the number of outstanding artists and writers to emerge is in fact too small" and that "to make revolution and carry construction requires pathbreakers who dare to consider, dare to probe, and dare to bring forth new ideas." These are the requirements for the development of socialist art and literature, it is the party's call, it is the demand of the people, and it is the command of the times!

Comrade Deng Xiaoping's judgments and comments on questions concerning the ideological front and art and literature are the products of historical experiences. He has closely integrated the laws and characteristics of art and literature and, from the lofty heights of resolving the general tasks and general lines of the party in this new period, has solved problems within art and literature. In doing this he has swept down irresistibly from a commanding height, seeking truth from facts. His words all revolve around the general theme of the construction of a socialism with Chinese characteristics, and they represent a guiding principle for the prosperity and development of art and literature in the new period. History will prove this.

CSO: 4005/1041

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

ENTERPRISE IDEOLOGICAL-POLITICAL WORK PROGRAM NOTED

OW270519 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0024 GMT 24 Jul 83

[Text] Beijing, 24 Jul [Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese on 0018 GMT on 27 July carries a "public notice" removing the embargo on this item. The "public notice" requests that the dateline be changed to 27 July] (XINHUA)--Program for Ideological and Political Work Among Workers and Staff Members of State-Owned Enterprises (for Trial Implementation)

(20 June 1983)

The Place and Responsibilities of the Working Class in History

1. The working class of our country represents the advanced productive forces and advanced relations of production, is the country's leading class and the main force of the modernization drive and will always play a dominant role in the historical process of developing and perfecting the socialist system, building China into a culturally advanced and highly democratic socialist country and continuing to advance toward the great goals of communism. Whether or not the working class has a high political consciousness and a keen sense of organization and discipline and whether or not it is proficient in professional work and has a good grasp of modern science and technology will make the difference between success and failure of our modernization program. Every member of the working class must have an absolutely clear understanding that the working class carries the heavy historical responsibility for the country's future and destiny.

2. In the present stage in our country, the working class includes: [XINHUA 27 July notice asks that this be rephrased as: "In the present stage in our country, the working class, on the whole, includes:" workers (including industrial workers and commercial, service trade and other nonindustrial workers); engineering and technical personnel; scientific research personnel; teaching and administrative staff members and workers; cultural, health and sports workers; and cadres and other state functionaries. The workers and staff members of enterprises are the main part of the working class. To accomplish its historical mission, the working class internally must strengthen the fraternal unity and cooperation between manual

workers and mental workers so that they will respect each other, learn from each other's strong points to offset each other's weaknesses, make progress together and advance hand-in-hand. Only in this way can the modernization program be guaranteed success. It is wrong and detrimental to the modernization program to look down on, discriminate against and exclude each other.

3. At present, the practical actions for the working class to take in its love for the motherland, socialism and the Communist Party are to actively participate in developing the material and spiritual civilization and strive to bring about a fundamental turn for the better in the financial and economic situation, in standards of social conduct and in party style as called for by the 12th party congress. In developing the material civilization, the masses of workers and staff members should strive to develop production, create advanced production quotas, reduce consumption of energy and raw and semifinished materials, improve product quality and constantly achieve better economic results. To achieve this goal, they must make assiduous efforts to acquire general knowledge, study science and technology and raise their cultural and technical level, and firmly oppose all wasteful acts. In developing the socialist spiritual civilization, the masses of workers and staff members should foster lofty socialist and communist ideals, resist and oppose the ideology of "putting money above everything else," establish better work ethics in production units, offices and the service trades, observe discipline and law, take the lead in maintaining public order and help bring about a fundamental turn for the better in standards of social conduct. To achieve this goal, they must concern themselves with affairs of the state, eagerly participate in political studies and courageously and resolutely struggle against the ugly phenomena of seeking private gain at public expense and benefiting oneself at the expense of others and against all kinds of evildoers and evil deeds endangering the socialist cause.

4. Reforms will continue through the entire course of the four modernizations program. The working class is the most farsighted, most selfless, least conservative in thinking and most thoroughly revolutionary. In the series of reforms which are necessary to perfect the socialist system and promote the four modernizations program under the leadership of our party, the working class should give full play to its own active historical role, stand in the front ranks of reform and support, participate in and lead the reforms. In the entire course of reform, the masses of workers and staff members should closely combine revolutionary fervor with a scientific approach, strictly act according to objective laws, have the courage and know how to carry out reforms and ensure that all reforms are pushed forward effectively and soundly.

5. To take up its historical responsibility, the working class must strengthen the transformation of its own subjective world while transforming the objective world.

Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, the working class of our country has made great progress. At present, the masses of workers and staff members are more firmly confident than ever in resolutely supporting and implementing the party Central Committee's line, principles and policies and

creating a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization; their enthusiasm is soaring in acquiring general knowledge, learning technology and striving to win honor for the country and make contributions to socialism; their sense of organization and discipline has also been strengthened somewhat; and especially gratifying, a large number of advanced and exemplary people, who are devoted to the public interest, working selflessly, determined to carry out reforms, courageously scaling new heights and dedicated to the four modernizations, are reaching maturity. All this indicates that the present ranks of workers and staff members are mainly healthy and progressive. However, for various reasons, the unhealthy phenomena of ideological weakness, lax discipline, slackness in work, seeking private gain at public expense and so forth to varying degrees still exist among some cadres, Communist Party members, CYL members and workers and staff members in many places and enterprises. And the abominable behavior of some leading cadres, who take advantage of their position and power to seek personal gain and practice bureaucracy, has encouraged the spreading of the negative phenomena. The existence of the negative phenomena and the harmful effects they bring must not be underestimated. We must adopt a series of measures, especially to vigorously strengthen ideological and political work among workers and staff members, to change the above-mentioned negative phenomena and bring into further play the positive role of the working class, which occupies a dominant position in the socialist modernization drive.

The working class must soberly understand that we are working in the new historical circumstances of opening to the outside world and invigorating the domestic economy. The negative effects caused by the decade of internal turmoil in the ideological and political spheres, particularly the pernicious "left" influence, cannot possibly be completely eliminated in a short period of time; the ideological influence of the exploiting classes and other nonworking classes left over from history will continue to have repercussions in various spheres of social life in our country for a long time to come; with the implementation of the policy of opening to the outside world, our social life unavoidably will be subject to increasing influence and corruption of the decadent capitalist ideas and life style of foreign countries; as we energetically develop commodity production and exchange under the guidance of the socialist planned economy, it is possible that in the meantime the ugly phenomenon of commercialism frequently seen in capitalist societies, which treat all things as commodities, including personal integrity, conscience, honor and relations between people, and other decadent capitalist ideas will spread among some people; within certain limits class struggle will continue in our society for a long time to come and may intensify under certain conditions; and so forth. Because of the above, under the new historical conditions, the working class needs all the more to conscientiously receive education in the communist ideological system, resist and oppose corruption by bourgeois ideas, remnant feudal ideas and other decadent ideas and temper itself into a staunch force with ideal, morality, culture and discipline. This is the long-term and arduous task of the working class in transforming its own subjective world while transforming the objective world. This task has become more pressing because of the large-scale reform of the ranks of workers and staff members in the past few years. The working class must and certainly will be able to fulfill this task.

Strengthening Ideological and Political Work Among Workers and Staff Members of Enterprises Is an Important Guarantee for Developing Socialist Economy

6. Socialist politics is an important guarantee to the development of socialist economy. "Political work is the lifeline of all economic work." This thesis of Comrade Mao Zedong vividly epitomizes the important position and role of political work in economic construction. This thesis is still of universal significance in providing guidance in the period of modern construction. Ideological and political work among workers and staff members mainly refers to ideological and political education. It is an important component part of the party's political work, but not the entire political work. Its role as the "lifeline" refers to its role in enforcing guarantees. In enterprises, that means to guarantee the socialist nature and the socialist orientation of the enterprise and to ensure that the enterprise and their workers and staff members will correctly implement the party's line, principles and policies, strictly abide by the state's constitution and laws and resolutely enforce the laws and regulations, decisions and orders of the government. It is on this basis that we will be able to help the enterprises fulfill their tasks in production and construction and raise their economic efficiency, and to assist all the members of all sectors of the working class to raise their ideological awareness, develop their moral characters and become wiser and more competent.

7. The party committees at all levels, especially those cadres who exercise leadership in doing economic work at all levels, should fully understand that the socialist enterprises in China not only shoulder the task of promoting a highly developed material civilization, but also shoulder the task of promoting a highly developed spiritual civilization. This is one of the hallmarks which differentiates our enterprises from the capitalist enterprises. In building modern, socialist enterprises, we need modern science and technology as well as advanced management system and methods. There is no doubt about that. However, if our ideological and political work is not strong, and if we are unable to instill the series of communist ideas into workers and staff members by means of our ideological and political work, it will be impossible for us to whip up the enthusiasm of the broad masses of workers and staff members for socialism to the greatest extent. Thus, it will be impossible for us to bring into full play the proper effective role of all advanced technology and all advanced management systems and methods on the basis of advanced ideology and to build our enterprises well.

8. In the entire historical period of socialism, education on communist ideas as a system must be closely linked with the Marxist principle on material benefits and with the principle of "to each according to his work" at the present stage and other socialist principles. Only under the guidance of the communist ideas as a system will it be possible for us to fully and correctly implement all types of socialist principles and systems and open up a road to continuously improve and develop the socialist system in knowledge and in practice.

There have been two types of erroneous trends since the founding of the nation. One is to onesidedly exaggerate the role of ideological and political work, peddle the fallacy that politics is above everything and that spirit is omnipotent, and to discredit the Marxist principle on material benefits and the principle of "to each according to his work." The other trend is to onesidedly emphasize and exaggerate the role of material encouragements, while ignoring and discrediting ideological, political work. Our practice has shown that these two erroneous trends will seriously hamper the development of socialist enterprises and even lead them to go astray. We must heighten our vigilance, resolutely overcome these two erroneous trends at all times, and emphatically correct the type of erroneous trend wherever such an erroneous trend is prevalent to a serious extent.

9. In the process of reforming the economic system step by step and under proper leadership, all departments from the leading organs to the basic-level units must firmly grasp ideological and political education as their central task, help all workers and staff members, first of all the cadres at all levels, to correctly understand the meaning, purpose and methods in making the reforms, and consciously implement the principles and policies of the party and the government to carry out reforms. The reform of the economic system affects the interests of thousands of families, and involves major matters on how to correctly handle the relations and deal with the interests between the state, the localities, the departments, the enterprises and the individuals. Therefore, it is essential to closely integrate all kinds of reforms, strengthen education on communist ideas as a system, guide the workers and staff members to bring into full play the collective spirit of the working class, place the interests of the state above all, serve the people in all localities and at all times, hold ourselves responsible for the consumers and resolutely overcome individualism and departmentalism. Only by so doing can we ensure that the economic system will be reformed along the socialist line and score both material and spiritual achievements.

Reform of the Contents and Methods of Ideological and Political Work Among Workers and Staff Members of Enterprises

10. The ideological and political work among workers and staff members of various enterprises is fundamentally aimed at helping them correctly comprehend the historical position and responsibilities of their own class and enhance their ability to understand and transform the world by conducting education among all workers and staff members in enterprises on communist ideas as a system. In carrying out ideological and political education, it is necessary to maintain close touch with reality and proceed from the easy to the difficult. By carrying out education in a planned manner on patriotism, collectivism, socialism and communism, efforts must be made to fill the broad masses of workers and staff members with confidence in the superiority of the socialist system, in party leadership, in Marxism, in the belief that China will definitely develop itself from a poor nation to a rich one and become a first-rate modern country in the world; and help them strengthen their sense of pride as a citizen of great socialist China, as a glorious member of China's working class and as the main force in the development of the modernization program.

11. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the party organizations and broad masses of cadres at all levels have earnestly implemented the series of important instructions issued by the central authorities on strengthening ideological and political work, done a great deal of useful work and created some new experiences. There have emerged a group of advanced collectives and outstanding ideological and political workers who have done a good job in carrying out ideological and political work among the workers and staff members in various enterprises. All this has effectively guaranteed the triumphant realization of the party's historical changes. However, we should realize that the ideological and political work among the workers and staff members at present is still failing to keep pace with the situation with which our party is faced as well as the task of our party. The phenomenon of paying little attention to ideological and political work or doing poor ideological and political work is still generally prevalent. In particular, ideological and political work had been carried out over a considerably longer period under the guidance of the erroneous principle of "taking class struggle as the key link," and thus the educational contents and methods were inevitably stamped with the "leftist" brand. Now we have entered a new historical stage. Only by continuing to earnestly eliminate the influence of the "leftist" errors, working hard to explore the laws governing the ideological and political work among workers and staff members during the new period, and reforming the contents and methods of the ideological and political work among workers and staff members while carrying forward and bringing into full play the party's fine traditions in doing ideological and political work, will it be possible to create a new situation in doing ideological and political work in various enterprises.

12. Now, the ranks of the working class in China are in an important historical period of the new succeeding the old. Young workers and staff members under 35 years old account for about two-thirds of the total numbers of workers and staff members in China. Most of them are working at the forefront in production and construction and becoming the backbone and main force in production and construction. The heavy responsibility to build a modern industry has already fallen on their shoulders. They form the new generation of the working class with a bright future. This fundamental appraisal should be our party's basic starting point in carrying out all its work among the ranks of the working class. The leadership at all levels should place their emphasis of their ideological and political work among the masses of workers and staff members on the young workers, understand their psychology thinking and feelings and know their joy, anger, grief and happiness, and determine the educational contents and methods in light of their characteristics so that the party's ideological and political work for the new generation of the working class will be greatly strengthened.

At present, the total number of female workers and staff members in the whole country has exceeded 40 million, which is more than 60 times the number at the initial period following the liberation. However, many new situations and problems have also emerged in the work of female workers. Many enterprises

refuse to accept female workers and staff members or pay no attention to defending the rights of female workers and staff members. This is a quite conspicuous situation which must be properly corrected. In carrying out ideological and political work, it is necessary to pay particular attention to the special characteristics of female workers, defend their rights, truly realize equality between men and women, ensure that men and women enjoy equal pay for equal work, protect their special interests, solve their special problems, raise their ideological and political awareness and wage resolute struggle against all erroneous practices of discriminating against women, rejecting women or even torturing women.

13. The basic contents of ideological and political work among workers and staff members of various enterprises may be generally divided into two parts, namely, conducting relatively systematic education on patriotism, collectivism, socialism and communism, and conducting routine ideological and political education. These two kinds of education should be linked to each other and conducted in close coordination with the education on the four basic principles.

Systematic education is designed to fundamentally raise the class awareness of the working class. In order to realize this goal, various enterprises should, in the following 3 years, release young workers and staff members from work and have them take part in training for a certain period on a rotation basis. They should be organized to first study the following three subjects:

1. "Chinese modern history." (This subject should be a unified course of Chinese modern history, Chinese revolutionary history and the history of the Communist Party of China). It is necessary to conduct education on loving the motherland, loving socialism and loving the Communist Party;
2. "The knowledge of scientific socialism." It is necessary to conduct education on the superiority of socialism and various principles of socialism; and
3. "The Chinese working class." It is necessary to conduct education on the history and position of the Chinese working class, their historical responsibility and their fine tradition and also carry out education on how to be a conscious member of the working class.

On the basis of completing education on the above-mentioned three subjects, various enterprises should then organize workers and staff members to study the following subjects in a planned manner according to the actual situation of the respective units: "The basic knowledge of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought," "Socialist democracy and socialist legal system," "Communist morality" (including professional ethics), "Marxist aesthetic standard" (The main purpose of aesthetic education is to help people distinguish between beauty and ugliness and between good and bad and seek for noble and fine things. It will play an important role in unfolding the "five stresses, four beauties and three loves" activities.), "The People's Republic of China in the world" and "the latest achievements of contemporary science and technology." These subjects should be studied by the workers and staff members step by step in various forms according to their level of education, ideology and theory are to be completed in several years.

The teaching program for the above-mentioned subjects will be compiled jointly by the Propaganda Department of the CPC Central Committee, the Research Office of the Secretariat of the CPC Central Committee, the State Economic Commission, the Ministry of Education, the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, the All-China Federation of Trade Unions, the CYL Central Committee and the Chinese Association for Science and Technology. The departments concerned in various provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions should compile teaching materials according to specific local conditions and requirements based upon the national teaching program. Each subject should have several editions in order to suit the readers at various levels. Social science workers, natural science workers and ideological and political workers in the whole country may compile and write teaching materials according to the national teaching program. They should work hard and write materials with abundant contents and relatively high ideological and theoretical level for use by various enterprises and other units.

Prior to the completion of the compilation of the national teaching program, party committees of various provinces, municipalities, and autonomous regions and departments in charge of economic work of the central authorities may compile and write their own teaching program and materials. The All-China Federation of Trade Unions may also select some high-quality teaching materials from those on hand and recommend them to various places.

14. Running schools on a regular basis and releasing workers and staff members from work and having them take part in training on a rotational basis should gradually become a principal form of conducting education on communist thinking for workers and staff members by various enterprises. Many enterprises in various trades have already done this and have achieved significant results. Various enterprises and their next higher units should actively create conditions and hold political schools (including training centers of various enterprises) for workers and staff members by releasing them from work or releasing them from half of their working hours and spare-time political schools. They should run short-term political training or study classes and release workers and staff members from work and have them take part in those classes on a rotation basis in different groups.

Various economic departments concerned and various provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions should designate a number of schools from among various kinds of schools at different levels and ask those schools to assume the task of conducting political training for workers and staff members.

Various enterprises should fix the number of workers and staff members in a reasonable way through consolidating labor organizations. Effective upon the promulgation of this program (for trial implementation), various enterprises should, within a few years, gradually ensure that every worker and staff member will be released from work for at least half a month each year and have them take part in ideological and political training on a rotation basis. They may also release some workers and staff members from work for a relatively longer period (1 or 2 years or even longer) and have them receive political, cultural and technical training on a rotation basis. The results of study of workers and staff members should be used as one of the important bases for promotion.

It is necessary to pay attention to both their cultural and technical education and their ideological and political education. For those workers and staff members whose educational level is lower than that of junior middle school, they may be released from work for political training on a rotation basis or may be organized to first study general subjects and, after their educational level reaches a certain standard, be organized to study political science and theory later.

Various enterprises should take a positive attitude in holding political training classes on a rotation basis. They should first prepare well teaching materials and acquire teachers, teaching sites and other necessary teaching facilities. The funds, teachers and teaching facilities needed for ideological-political work are to be provided in an effective manner by the Ministry of Finance, the Ministry of Education, the Ministry of Labor and Personnel and other departments concerned.

In addition to the method of releasing workers and staff members from work and having them take part in training on a rotation basis, it is also necessary to encourage them to complete the study of the above-mentioned subjects through self-study in their spare time. In recent years, the spare time studying activities of workers and staff members have been quite extensive. They have very wide appeal and have achieved very good results. We should vigorously promote these activities and make them an important form of systematic education.

Releasing workers and staff members from work and having them take part in training on a rotation basis and carrying out systematic education for them is our party's major reform in carrying out ideological and political education for them. We should, through several years of hard work, gradually form a relatively complete educational system for workers and staff members on communist thinking. From the first day of their work at various plants, the broad masses of workers and staff members should be enabled to receive education from time to time on patriotism, collectivism, socialism and communism in line with their educational level.

Leading cadres at various levels must attach great importance to this strategic measure of conducting anew education on scientific communism for the working class in the new historical period and effectively grasp well this work. The working class are able to receive this kind of systematic education on such a scale in the whole country only when they have seized political power. The broad masses of workers and staff members should treasure their right to receive this kind of systematic education and actively take part in the study with strenuous efforts.

15. In order to effectively strengthen the party's ideological and political education for workers and staff members, it is necessary to institute the system of establishing the party's political and ideological reporters in party organizations of various enterprises at levels equivalent to ministries and departments at the central level, provincial, municipal and autonomous regional level, the prefectural level and the county level.

The political and ideological reporters are generally working on a concurrent basis. The party organizations at the same level will appoint party member cadres with appropriate political, ideological and theoretical levels and the ability to express themselves orally to assume such posts. Their appointments are subject to approval by party committees at the higher level. The party's political and ideological reporter is to publicize the party's tasks, principles, policies and theory and to guide the people ideologically. The reporters will receive the same treatment as other members of the party committee at the same level in reading documents related to their work. They should in a timely and extensive way maintain contact with masses and be aware of the actual situation. They should periodically (at least once in every season) visit plants, schools, stores, offices and other units at the grass-roots level, make direct reports to the masses, organize workers and staff members to discuss ideological and theoretical problems which should be solved at the time under the leadership of party committees of various enterprises and make summing-up reports in the spirit of combining theory with practice. Their work achievements should be recorded. Those who are unfit for the work should be replaced immediately. The party's political and ideological reporter is to be led by the propaganda department of party committee to which he belongs.

16. The main contents of routine ideological and political education for workers and staff members of various enterprises include the following:
1) education on the domestic and international situation; 2) education on the principles and policies of the party and the government; 3) education on the plant's rules and discipline; 4) education on publicizing the central tasks and mobilizing the masses to fulfill production tasks and raise economic results; 5) education on advanced models and deeds, and 6) other individual education according to the ideological situation of workers and staff members.

17. Teams and groups are enterprise cells as well as important places where workers and staff members are regularly educated. When the ideological and political work of such teams and groups is strengthened, correct collective opinions will be formed and fine persons and good deeds will emerge in succession. Then it will be difficult for unhealthy trends and evil practices to gain ground. At present, the ideological and political work of enterprises' teams and groups is generally weak, and guidance for this work must be immediately strengthened. Attention should be paid to giving full play to the role of trade union organizations in this regard.

Continuing efforts should be made to train and improve mass propaganda teams active on the production forefront. Trade unions and CYL organizations may organize propagandists, instructors, storytellers and book reviewers among the masses of workers and staff members to make vivid and effective propaganda according to what is on the minds of the masses.

Having heart-to-heart talks, visiting workers, making intimate friends with the masses by party and CYL members or cadres and carrying out activities to build five-good families and civilized living quarters are effective regular methods of education which should continue to be promoted.

18. The ideological and political education of enterprise workers and staff members should be combined with spare-time cultural and sports activities, which should be healthy, joyful, lively, varied and colorful.

Whether a piece of news, a film, a drama, a song or a novel is good or bad invariably exerts an inestimably subtle influence on people. We should pay full attention to the role played by means of social education, such as literature and art, television, motion pictures, the radio, publications and sports, in the ideological and political work among workers and staff members. Departments in charge of such work should put the question of how to provide the working class with fine literary works, theatrical performances and other cultural and art achievements as an important item on their agendas; they should effectively improve their work and the quality of literary works and promptly change the situation in which the ideological and artistic level of some literary works is very low and they are produced even in a rough and slipshod way,

Efforts should be made to run newspapers and periodicals for workers well and to do a good job in publishing reading materials for them.

Relevant departments and big enterprises should create conditions step by step for building museums of their own trades or their enterprises. Cities and towns at and above the county level should all do a good job in running clubs, cultural palaces, libraries and broadcasting stations for workers and staff members and in opening up sports grounds for them. Trade unions and CYL organizations should set up spare-time ball games, track and field, gymnastics, swimming, Chinese boxing and other sports organizations for workers and staff members; they should also set up spare-time activity organizations for them, such as literary creation, film reviewing, appreciation of noted literary works, fine arts, calligraphy, photography, radio, tailoring and sewing, embroidery, cooking and gardening; and they should carry out healthy dancing, singing, music, chess playing and other entertaining activities in an organized manner. In this way, workers and staff members, after intense work, will be able to enjoy activities of good taste, to foster a socialist way of life and, with this, to resist and oppose unhealthy or activities of poor taste.

19. Systematic and day-to-day education should be carried out on condition that it is conducive to production and construction. Methods used to carry out such education should be more flexible. Various forms of emulation should be used to conduct education. Education in communism as an ideological system should be carried out in connection with various kinds of socialist labor emulation (such as vying with one another in being model workers, shock workers on the new long march and 8 March standard bearers), with "five stresses, four beauties and three ardent loves" activities and with conscientious implementation of the workers congress system.

Principles Which Must Be Followed in Doing Ideological and Political Work Among Workers and Staff Members of Enterprises

20. The principle of integrating theory with practice: The bad habit of "telling lies and engaging in big and empty talk" in conducting ideological and political education has been considerably changed in recent years.

However, there still exist such drawbacks as evading acute ideological questions raised by the masses, being afraid of touching on what is on the minds of the masses, preaching devoid of content and mechanically copying or relaying something from others. Such drawbacks have weakened the efficiency of ideological and political work to a considerable extent. From now on, both systematic and day-to-day education must be carried out in accordance with the party's principles and policies and in connection with what is on the minds of the masses. Ideological questions of tendencies among workers and staff members must not be evaded. Such questions must not be perfunctorily grasped, and one or two of them should be grasped and effectively solved according to priority in a period of time. In conducting education, efforts must be made to achieve actual results so that many a small achievement will make a big achievement. In applying the basic theory of Marxism to solve questions of ideology and understanding, attention should be paid to people's actual receptive abilities. Education should be carried out step by step and according to people's different conditions. Education should not be conducted in the heavy-downpour way or in the way of "demanding uniformity from all people." As for workers and staff members with a higher educational level and a stronger ability to read and understand, the content and method of education for them should be determined according to their special characteristics.

21. The principle of democracy: The educators should assume an attitude of equality toward the educated. They should not use their power to intimidate people, nor should they keep an unsmiling face and reprimand people. On the army's political work, Comrade Mao Zedong said: "Many people think that it is wrong methods that make for strained relations between officers and men and between the army and the people, but I always tell them that it is a question of basic attitude (or basic principle), of having respect for the soldiers and the people. It is from this attitude that the various policies, methods and forms ensue. If we depart from this attitude, then the policies, methods and forms will certainly be wrong, and the relations between officers and men and between the army and the people are bound to be unsatisfactory." For the same reason, we should resort to persuasion, not compulsion, to deal with questions of thinking and understanding and different opinion among the workers and staff members. It is absolutely impermissible to repeat the "left" practice during the 10 years of internal disorder of treating comrades as enemies and exaggerating the mistakes of others to the maximum. We should resolutely oppose the practice of doing things in an oversimplified and crude way. We should have full faith in the masses and know how to mobilize the masses to educate themselves. In the last few years, some units have educated the masses in the current economic situation by asking them to compare the present with the past. In this way, those units have achieved good results in ironing out grievances, promoting understanding and boosting morale. Some units have guided the masses to discuss the communist factors around them and thus achieved good results in firming up the faith of the masses of workers and staff members in communism. These methods are acceptable to the masses and are effective because they give better expression to the principle of democracy. In practice socialist democracy, as a principle for the masses' self-education, will surely embrace more and better forms and play a more and more important role.

22. The principle of integrating the ideological and political work with the economic work: Many ideological problems among the workers and staff members of enterprises pop up in the course of production and management. Contradictions between right and wrong, between the advanced and the backward, and between the collectivism of the working class and individualism or selfish departmentalism constantly exist in connection with such questions as operational style, production or work targets and quotas, cooperation and labor remuneration. Only when we persistently do ideological work first to correctly and effectively solve these contradictions, can we bring into full play the initiative and creativeness of the workers and staff members, guarantee a sound development of the economic work and constantly enhance economic results. If the ideological and political work is not aimed at these contradictions, it will be like shooting an arrow without a target, or like scratching an itch from outside one's boot. At present the ideological and political work is still seriously divorced from the economic work and we should continue to seriously overcome this problem. The cadres doing the ideological and political work should go to the forefront of production, familiarize themselves with production and management, carefully listen to the voice of the broad masses of workers and staff members, and carry out the education in patriotism, collectivism, socialism and communism in the course of production, management, distribution, scientific research, consolidation and reform of the enterprises. The cadres doing productive and management work and the cadres doing scientific and technological work should not concern themselves only with their vocational work to the neglect of the ideological and political work. While doing their vocational work well, they should also do good ideological and political work.

23. The principle of combining commendation with criticism with the emphasis on commendation: Commendation of the advanced in clear-cut terms is an important mark of the effectiveness of ideological and political work. The first duty of ideological and political workers is to be good at discovering the good qualities and strong points of the people being worked on and at turning the negative factors in them into positive ones. It is not right to pay attention only to their shortcomings and mistakes. In view of the erroneous tendency to seek good relations with all and sundry at the expense of principle and the erroneous idea of being worldly wise and playing it safe which are rather widespread now among the ranks of workers and staff members, attention should be paid to guiding the workers and staff members to grasp the weapons of criticism and self-criticism and make sure that the healthy trends will prevail over the unhealthy trends.

24. The principle of combining the heightening of the thinking and understanding of the workers and staff members with concern about their well being and solutions to their problems: In doing ideological and political work, we should give full play to the party's fine tradition of being concerned about the masses' well-being, being their close friends and sending the warmth of the party into the hearts of every worker and staff member. Although the living standards of workers and staff members have markedly improved in the

past few years, they still have some real problems. The enterprises, too, have more than a few problems which require solutions, such as the need to ensure safety in production and to improve food supplies, housing, cultural, learning, sports and recreational facilities. Party committees at all levels should seriously study these problems and adopt effective measures to solve them. Unless combined with efforts to solve these practical problems, ideological and political work is bound to be weak and ineffective. Difficulties and problems that cannot be solved for the time being should be clearly and patiently explained to the workers and staff members to make them understand the difficulties of the state and the collective. At the same time, we should show them the future prospects and give them confidence and hopes.

25. The principle of combining teaching by example with teaching by word of mouth, putting more emphasis on the former: We who teach must be taught first by modestly learning from the masses. We must be the first to do what we ask the masses to do, and we must not do what we ask the masses not to do. Words must be matched by deeds. This is the distinctive character of our party's ideological and political workers.

All leading cadres and ideological and political workers must make it absolutely clear: To strengthen and improve ideological and political work among workers and staff members of enterprises at present, it is essential that we do a good job in rectifying the party style. If the party style is unhealthy, whatever and however the leaders may say, the workers will not be convinced. Only when the party style is rectified, and when leading cadres at all levels, Communist Party members and CYL members can all set an example, will the workers be willing to listen to them. Only then will ideological and political work be convincing.

Conscientiously Do a Good Job in Transforming the Backward Into the Advanced

26. Within the ranks of the working class, some people are lagging behind, and a very small number even have gone astray or are on the verge of going astray. Although these people account for just a small proportion of the working class as a whole, they are more than a few in absolute numbers and are hindering our efforts to bring about a fundamental turn for the better in public order and social conduct. We must adopt correct policies and make unremitting efforts to turn this part of negative factors into positive factors.

The working class takes the emancipation of all mankind as its own duty. With regard to those nonworking class elements who were swept into the revolutionary ranks by the waves of revolution, including certain lumpen-proletarians, our party was able to help them temper themselves into staunch proletarian revolutionary fighters through actual revolutionary struggles and effective ideological and political work. After the founding of the People's Republic, large numbers of peasants, city residents and students joined the ranks of the working class, and our party was able to turn them into worthy members of the working class again through the practice of modern large-scale production

and effective ideological and political work. All this has long been proven by the history of the development of the Chinese working class. That at present some people within the working class are lagging behind or even have gone astray is due to special historical reasons. If the entire society shows concern for them, if the departments in charge carry forward the party's fine tradition and rich experience in educating and transforming people, and if we pinpoint the crux of each person's ideological problems and really "open each lock with its own key," the overwhelming majority of the people can be transformed through education into positive and even advanced elements. The transformation of one will educate a great many. To this we should have full confidence.

27. In dealing with workers and staff members who have made mistakes of one kind or another, we must follow the principle of "learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones, and curing the sickness to save the patient." Workers and staff members who have made mistakes, no matter who they are, should be given the necessary education, criticism, or punishment ranging up to dismissal on the merit of each case. However, before and after the punishment, it is necessary to do thoroughgoing and painstaking ideological and political work to help them understand their own mistakes and enable them to find the root cause of their mistakes and ways and methods to eliminate the root cause, making them feel that there is a way out. When workers and staff members have made mistakes, it is wrong not to criticize and punish those who should be criticized and punished. It is equally wrong to rashly reprimand, punish, dismiss or otherwise deal with them whenever they make a mistake without investigation and study, concrete analysis and painstaking ideological and political education. Even those who have made serious mistakes, so long as they are not incorrigible, should be educated and saved with patience, and should not be handled with an oversimplified and crude approach and method. We must not make the mistake of punitiveness again. We must indiscriminately adopt administrative and coercive measures, still less artificially intensify contradictions. [XINHUA 27 July notice asks that this sentence be reworded as: "we must not indiscriminately adopt administrative and coercive measures. As for the few elements who have harmed the interests of the state and the people, they must be punished according to law by judicial organs."]

28. We should treat the backward workers and staff members with a dialectical-materialist and historical-materialist viewpoint. The backward workers and staff members are not backward in all respects. Some people are doing poorly in one area but rather well in another; some are not doing so well in their own units but often have done quite well in the past. We should analytically treat them, realistically affirm their good qualities and strong points, truly and penetratingly understand their inner world, show concern for them, be close to them and be good at guiding them to bring into play their own positive factors, overcome their negative factors and make progress. When they have made progress, we must not regard them with skepticism but should fully trust them and encourage them to keep advancing.

With regard to the young people who have gone astray, we should not discriminate against and isolate them. [XINHUA 27 July notice asks that this sentence be rephrased as: "With regard to the young people who have gone astray and who are willing to mend their ways, we should not discriminate against and isolate them."] Because they have suffered from serious emotional trauma and a lot of spiritual contaminations, they are often antagonistic in thinking and feeling toward the people around them. They especially need the concern, warmth and trust from the leadership and the comrades around them. Therefore, leading cadres at all levels, Communist Party members, CYL members and reawakened workers and staff members should all take the initiative to warmly approach them, make friends with them, extend a hand of class fraternity toward them, touch them with feeling, enlighten them with reason and send the warmth of the party into their hearts. This is an important condition for doing a good job of ideological transformation. On this basis, we should imbue them with revolutionary truth, educate them in the legal system, arouse their self-respect and desire to make good and help them onto the correct path step by step.

29. To do a good job in transforming the backward into the advanced, we must coordinate the efforts of all quarters concerned. Enterprises (especially the workshops and work shifts and teams where backward workers and staff members are found), families, neighborhoods, public security organs and other quarters concerned should closely cooperate, march in step, work in a consistent manner and follow through to the end, and they should avoid coming apart and canceling out each other's efforts. Only in this way can we increase the results of education and transformation.

Build a Contingent of Enterprise Ideological and Political Work Cadres Who Are More Revolutionary, Younger in Average Age, Better Educated and Professionally More Competent

30. At present, there are more than 1 million ideological and political work cadres in the industry and transport, finance and trade and capital construction systems throughout the country. On the whole, this is a tested, trustworthy and highly promising force. However, for various reasons, this force in many respects is far from meeting the requirements of the new situation and new tasks. The shortcomings are mainly: too old, too low in cultural level (about two-thirds of the cadres are of an educational level of a junior middle school or below), and lack of the professional knowledge essential for ideological and political work. To strengthen the party's ideological and political work among workers and staff members of enterprises, it is imperative to carry out necessary reforms in building up the ranks of ideological and political work cadres so as to meet step by step the requirements of making them more revolutionary, younger in average age, better educated and professionally more competent.

31. With regard to the present ideological and political work cadres, we should aim at raising their standards through training and at the same time carry out necessary readjustment and strengthening in conjunction with the current structural reform and consolidation of enterprises. Arrangements should be made for

those veteran comrades who are advanced in years, of poor health and low cultural level and hardly able to continue doing ideological and political work to leave their post for recuperation, retire or move to the second line according to relevant regulations. Those who have serious defects in thinking and work style or who are professionally incompetent and unsuitable to do ideological and political work should be sent back to production posts or transferred to other types of work. Those who rose to their present positions during the "Cultural Revolution" by following Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and company in rebellion, those who are seriously affected by factionalist ideas and those who engaged in beating, smashing and looting must be completely cleared out. Those who oppose the lines of the party Central Committee formulated since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee and those who have seriously violated law and discipline in the economic and other fields must be sternly dealt with and removed from ideological and political work posts. In the past few years, the number of workers and staff members has increased quite rapidly, and the task of ideological and political work is very arduous. Moreover, the ranks of ideological and political work cadres are weak, and the lack of successors is quite obvious. It is necessary to properly strengthen the ranks of ideological and political work cadres. We should select cadres who are in the prime of life, suited to ideological and political work and bold in blazing new trails for leading posts at various levels in ideological and political work. From now on, we should select a number of qualified people from among college graduates and postgraduates to strengthen the ideological and political work organizations at various levels. Grassroots level ideological and political work cadres (for example party branch secretaries not engaged in production), except for those assigned by the state, should mainly be selected from among outstanding production workers and cadres with a senior middle school or equivalent educational level. The assignment of cadres for enterprise ideological and political work must go through a strict examination.

32. To improve the political quality and professional competence of the vast numbers of ideological and political work cadres, it is imperative to strengthen their professional training in a planned way while paying attention to their ideological and political education.

The provinces, prefectures, cities, counties, various economic departments at the central level and the bureaus, companies and large key enterprises under their jurisdiction should run regular political cadre schools at their respective levels for the training of middle and primary level ideological and political work personnel. Before this happens, it is necessary to select ideological and political work cadres by stages and in groups to receive training in party schools, CYL schools, trade union and women's federation cadres schools and other cadre education institutions, with the stress on studies in basic and professional knowledge closely related to ideological and political work and in accordance with the principle of division of responsibilities by levels. All ideological and political work cadres should have received training by rotation in 3 to 5 years.

Political academies and schools designed to train leading cadres in ideological and political work should be set up at the central and local levels. The existing universities and colleges of arts throughout the country and the universities and colleges under the jurisdiction of various ministries, commissions and general administrations, if they have the needed conditions to do so, should add the political work specialty or classes for advanced studies for political work cadres. The localities, departments and large enterprises may select outstanding workers and staff members to enroll through entrance examinations. The costs of such education will be paid by the respective units, and the students should return to work in the same units upon graduation. The CPC Central Committee Propaganda Department, the State Economic Commission, the State Planning Commission and the Ministry of Education will work out a plan for implementation of this program.

Under the guidance of the CPC Central Committee's Propaganda Department and Organization Department and the propaganda and organization departments of provincial, municipal and autonomous regional party committees, it is the responsibility of the central and local education departments to run television, correspondence and night college courses designed mainly for training ideological and political work cadres. It is necessary to encourage the vast numbers of ideological and political work cadres to complete their education in general college level studies and professional ideological and political work courses within a certain number of years through in-service training or other forms of self-study.

In future, those who have received their professional training, regardless of what channels or schools through which such training is obtained, should all take a regular examination upon completion of their studies. Those who have passed the examination will be issued diplomas, which will serve as recognition of their education at levels equivalent to graduates from secondary vocational schools, universities and colleges, or graduate schools and will be used as a basis for their appointments and promotions.

It is necessary through a number of years' efforts to form a nationwide system of education and training for political work cadres at the primary, middle and senior levels, create a good atmosphere among all the political work cadres with everyone determined to study diligently and strive to train a large number of skilled ideological and political workers and a large number of highly proficient ideological and political work experts.

33. Ideological and political work is of a strong scientific, political and policy nature, and cadres doing this work are professionals. It is suggested that the Organization Department of the CPC Central Committee and the Ministry of Labor and Personnel lay down regulations on the titles of cadres doing ideological and political work and the evaluation of them as soon as possible. Before this, proper measures should be taken to make it possible for cadres doing ideological and political work to enjoy the same rights as engineering, technical and administrative cadres do in wages, housing, priority given to solving the problem of spouses living in two separate places as well as in other living arrangements.

34. It is a lofty yet arduous cause to disseminate scientific communist ideology among the workers. Large numbers of cadres engaged in ideological and political work, especially those working at the grassroots level, have worked hard and creatively, thus making important contributions to raising workers' political consciousness, moral qualities and level of knowledge. This has propelled our society forward and promoted the growth of material and spiritual wealth in our country. Like teachers, writers and artists, they should be "engineers of human souls." We should foster a good habit of respecting and cherishing cadres engaged in ideological and political work throughout our society. All such cadres should firmly devote themselves to the revolutionary cause and be determined to effectively do ideological and political work as their glorious duty and to continue to do so.

Strengthen Party Leadership Over Ideological and Political Work Among Workers and Staff Members of Enterprises

35. The party's ideological and political work among members of the working class is a task of prime importance. Party organizations at all levels should give priority to ideological and political work and strengthen their leadership in this regard.

Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out that "the first secretaries of party committees in all localities should personally grasp ideological questions." We should continue to carry forward this fine tradition of our party. From now on, each party committee at or above the county level should assign a secretary or a deputy secretary to take charge of ideological and political work. Persons responsible for the organizational, propaganda and discipline inspection work of enterprise party organizations should generally be members of party committees. If such responsible persons are not members of party committees, they may attend meetings of the party committees as observers; if they are secretaries of CYL committees, they should act according to the party constitution.

No matter what leadership system and organizational form are to be adopted, the necessary institutions for ideological and political work among workers and staff members must be strengthened, not weakened, much less abolished.

36. Since workers and staff members have wide social contacts and connections, there are many complicated channels and factors that influence their thinking. Moreover, such channels and factors interact on one another. As far as the process of ideological and political education is concerned, it certainly involves many aspects and is not confined to enterprises themselves. While organizing and coordinating enterprises' internal forces (party organizations, administrative departments, trade unions and CYL organizations), enterprises' party organizations should take the initiative in vigorously winning over outside forces (families, schools, social groups and economic, educational, cultural, judicial and public security departments) to make concerted efforts to effectively do ideological and political work among enterprise workers and staff members.

Enterprise party organizations should seriously divide the work between the party and the administrative department, which is the key to strengthening and improving their leadership over ideological and political work among workers and staff members. Responsible comrades of enterprise party organizations, especially the secretaries of party committees, should effectively change the situation in which party work and administrative work are not separated and the party takes on all administrative work. They should devote their main energies and time to party building, implementation of the party's and state's various principles and policies and ideological and political work among workers and staff members.

37. It is necessary to give full play to the role of the party branch as a fighting bastion. The party branch is the organizer for the day-to-day education of workers and staff members. It should first do a good job in the education of party members and bring their exemplary vanguard role into full play. It should have a good timely grasp of ideological trends among the workers and staff members of its own unit. Through thoroughgoing and painstaking individual education, it should help workers and staff members free themselves of various mental burdens. Party and CYL members, leaders of production teams and groups, group leaders of trade unions, representatives of workers congresses and outstanding veteran workers have natural and close contacts with the masses, and party branches should organize them to make concerted efforts to effectively do ideological and political work.

38. Leading bodies should effectively improve their style and methods of leadership, make study and investigation in basic units and be good at making use of examples and demonstrations to guide ideological and political work at the grassroots level. Higher organs should delegate given authority to basic units in flexibly arranging the content and methods of education and the time for such education so that the basic units can bring their initiative and creativity into full play.

39. Relevant party organizations should organize social scientists to participate in the ideological and political work among workers and staff members and give full play to the role of social sciences in this work. It is necessary to organize social scientists to do research, which should integrate theory with practice, on subjects related to the systematic and day-to-day education of workers and staff members and to write easy-to-understand books on the results of such research. Social scientists should go among the masses of workers and, together with ideological and political workers at the grassroots level, to investigate ideological and political trends among workers. Drawing on the scientific achievements in modern psychology, pedagogy and sociology, social scientists should apply the Marxist stand, viewpoint and method to do research on the laws governing the development and change of workers' and staff members' thinking and behavior and related questions and then to make scientific and flawless suggestions on ideological and political work among workers and staff members. Party committees at all levels, and the enterprise party committees in particular, should create conditions to facilitate such investigations and research.

40. The basic spirit, principles and methods of this "program (for trial implementation)" [XINHUA 27 July notice requests that "(for trial implementation)" be deleted] apply to state-owned enterprises and institutions. In light of the content of this "program (for trial implementation)" [XINHUA 27 July notice requests that "(for trial implementation)" be deleted] suited to their conditions, collectively owned enterprises and institutions should strengthen and improve their ideological and political work among their workers and staff members.

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RENMIN RIBAO DISCUSSES DENG'S ART THEORY

HK280210 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 26 Jul 83 p 5

[Commentator's article: "The People Need Art, But Art Needs the People Even More--Studying Important Views on Literature and Art Contained in 'Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping (Part Two)'"]

[Text] "The people need art, but art needs the people even more." This is an important idea that Comrade Deng Xiaoping put forward in his congratulatory speech to the fourth congress of China's literary and art workers. When studying the "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," we should earnestly grasp the essence of this proposition so as to correctly handle the relationship between art and the people in the new period and to bring about a boom in socialist literary and art creation. This is of great immediate significance.

The relationship between art and the people is an important issue in the Marxist theory of literature and art. In his article entitled "Party Organization and Party Literature," Lenin profoundly expounded the principle that literature and art must serve the millions and tens of millions of working people. In his speech at the Yanan forum on literature and art, Comrade Mao Zedong also profoundly enunciated the relationship between art and the people, pointed out that the orientation for the development of literature and art is to serve the broadest range of people, and first, to serve workers, peasants, and soldiers. According to the basic principle of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, and by linking this principle to the specific situation of our country in the new period, Comrade Deng Xiaoping made a dialectical exposition of the relationship between art and the people. Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out: "It is our hope that more and more comrades among literary and art workers will become real engineers who can rebuild the human soul. In order to educate the people, they themselves should first receive education. In order to provide the people with mental food, they themselves must first absorb nourishment. Then, who will educate literary and art workers and give them nourishment? The Marxist answer can only be: the people. The people are the mother of literary and art workers. The artistic life of all progressive literary and art workers lies in their flesh-and-blood ties with the people. If they forget, neglect, or break this kind of tie, their artistic life will fast ebb away. The people need art, but art needs the people even more." Here, Comrade Deng Xiaoping deeply expounded

the relationship between art and the people and the relationship between literary and art workers and the people, and put forward the important idea that "the people are the mother of literary and art workers."

The people need art--this is known to everyone. However, today, we not only should understand this in an ordinary sense and realize that the people have the right to enjoy art, but should also view the people's demand for art from the viewpoint of building socialist spiritual civilization. The 12th CPC National Congress decided that while making efforts to develop our material civilization, we must also strive to build a high degree of socialist spiritual civilization. It is necessary to make use of all sorts of educational means to give publicity to progressive ideology so as to make more and more social members laborers with lofty ideals, moral integrity, education, and a sense of discipline. As a component of culture, literature and art not only provides an important condition for the development of material civilization, but also constitutes an important condition for enhancing the political consciousness of the masses and their moral standards. Comrade Xiaoping said: "Literary and art work is bearing the important responsibility, which no work in other fields can fulfill in its place, for satisfying the needs of the people in their cultural life, for cultivating new people with socialist ideology, and for enhancing the ideological, cultural and moral level of the entire society." His words can help us deepen our understanding of the significance of the proposition that "the people need art" from a more important viewpoint of building socialist spiritual civilization.

As the people need art, what kind of works should literary and art workers create to satisfy the needs of the people? To be measured with this yardstick, works can be divided into good works and bad works, into those created in a rough and slipshod way and those created in an elaborate way, and into those suited to refined and elegant tastes and those suited to vulgar tastes. Comrade Deng Xiaoping called for literary and art workers to "consistently gear their works to the needs of the public, constantly strive to improve the artistic quality of their works, guard against creating works in a rough and slipshod way, take into serious consideration the social effects of their works, and try their utmost to provide the best mental nourishment for the people." Since the downfall of the "gang of four," and especially since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, literary and art workers in our country have devoted much enthusiasm to representing the people's lives and struggle and have made great efforts to create and deliver good mental nourishment to the people so as to provide them with healthy amusement and to suit their noble tastes in appreciating the beautiful. The achievements in this regard are known to all. However, in the recent period, a small number of literary and art workers deviated from the orientation of gearing literary and art works to the needs of the people and to the needs of the socialist cause. In their eyes, "everything is for the purpose of making more money." So they regarded their works and performances as merely a means of seeking personal fame and gain, did their art work in a slipshod manner, and even offered the masses shoddy works of a vulgar style. The public has severely criticized this evil tendency of treating art works as sheer commodities without regard to

their social effects, and the leading departments concerned have also adopted effective measures to correct the deviation. Our literary and art workers must bear in mind their glorious social responsibility and consistently adhere to the orientation of gearing literary and art works to the needs of the people and the needs of the socialist cause.

It must be specially emphasized that our literary and art workers should deeply understand that "art needs the people even more." Above all, we should really realize that "the people are the mother of literary and art workers." Comrade Mao Zedong said: Revolutionary literature and art are the products of the reflection of the life of the people in the brains of revolutionary writers and artists. The life of the people is always a mine which provides the most vital, rich, and fundamental raw materials for literature and art. Only by observing and experiencing the life of the people can writers and artists proceed to their creative work and create works which can deeply represent the life of the people. In this sense, "the people are the mother of literary and art workers." If our writers and artists are divorced from the people, there will be no literature and art for the people. Comrade Deng Xiaoping said: "The fundamental way to develop our socialist literature and art is for our writers and artists to conscientiously draw themes, subjects, plots, language, poetry and painting inspirations from the life of the people and nourish themselves with the people's vigorous spirit in creating history." Many outstanding writers have shared weal and woe with the people for a long time, have absorbed rich nourishment from the life of the people and have great successes. However, some writers now are not keen on going deeply into life to observe and experience the life and struggle of the people. They think that the development and creation of literature and art depend mainly on inventing a new form of expression and a new artistic style. Some people even think that "going deeply into life" is an outmoded slogan and should no longer be mentioned. This is absolutely wrong. If one does not go deeply into life and does not absorb nourishment and derive poetic and painting inspirations from the life of the people, no matter how brilliant one's artistry is, the source of creation will certainly become exhausted, and it will be absolutely impossible to develop and create new things. Our literary and art workers should also actively represent the life and struggle of the people and strive to portray new people of the socialist era. Socialist literature and art should include many varied themes. At the same time, it should be stressed that our attention should be focused on describing the life and struggle of the people. The masses constitute the main force in our socialist modernization cause. Our literature and art in the new period should portray various characters according to actual life, but stress should be placed on portraying new socialist people. Literary and art workers should always be modest in learning from the people. Literary and art workers are engineers who can rebuild people's inner world, they are educators. However, they should first receive education. The people are their mother. Literary and art workers must always maintain their flesh-and-blood ties with the people. If the ties are broken, their artistic life will wither. The small number of comrades who regard themselves as wiser than the people and who even look down on the masses must be aware of this point and conduct profound introspection.

"The people need art, but art needs the people even more." This is the dialectical relationship between art and the people. If this dialectical relationship is fully understood and grasped by our literary and art workers, our socialist literature and art will certainly flourish.

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

COLLEGE GRADUATES HAVE 'BETTER CHANCE' TO SUCCEED

HK290110 Beijing CHINA DAILY in English 29 Jul 83 p 4

[Article by CHINA DAILY commentator published in the "Opinion" column:
"College Education"]

[Text] Candidates who took the 3-day national college entrance examination in mid-July have a much better chance to succeed than those in previous years. With a sharp increase in enrollment, each of them has only to compete with four or five others.

When the system of enrollment by examination was first restored in 1977, only one out of 15 was admitted into college. During the tumultuous decade of the "cultural revolution" that ended in 1976, students were selected on "recommendation" supposedly of workers, peasants and soldiers. Serious malpractices involving nepotism and favouritism were reported.

While the examination system has, in general, raised the academic level of the colleges, higher education has also seen a marked expansion in the number of colleges and their total enrollment. Thus, 1,280,000 students were studying in 729 institutions of higher learning in the 1982 academic year, compared with 565,000 students in 392 institutions in 1976. Some 270,000 graduated from college this summer, and 360,000 will enter as freshmen in September.

These are merely the initial achievements in an ongoing reform in China's higher education on which the success of the country's modernization efforts will largely depend. Education, is one of the most enthusiastically discussed issues in China nowadays. It was also a main topic of discussion among the deputies to the National People's Congress and members of the People's Political Consultative Conference in their latest sessions in June.

China's higher education system has for decades been characterized by its over-concentration. All the institutions of higher learning have been run by the governments at various levels, and each of them has been run like a social community. As a university president has recently complained, he feels like a manager of a department store, with little time to concentrate on education work itself. He said that with 3,500 students, his institution is burdened with a staff of 1,800 people.

A student was secured for life the minute he is admitted to college. He has more often than not been provided with a monthly stipend whether at school or on vacation. He would be assigned a job on graduation whether or not he was needed or considered qualified by the employing unit.

The summary result of all this has been that, while the total state budget for education is necessarily limited, though gradually on the increase, the per capita expenditure on each student is too large in proportion. And the job security is not always conducive to hard work on the part of some students.

There are already successful experiments of non-state-run colleges where a small faculty is able to provide qualified education to large numbers of self-paying, non-resident students. There are also hundreds of thousands of adults receiving college-level education through correspondence, and broadcast and TV courses. They have the common disadvantage of not being recognized by the state and, as a result, their education is unrelated to employment.

There has been talk of further diversifying the college education so as to more quickly multiply the number of badly needed college graduates.

Educational reform will no doubt take time, but a sense of urgency has been urged by many. A cause of hesitation seems to be the maintenance of a common standard for all college graduates, which is hard to achieve, anyway, in a country as large and populous as China. Perhaps one way out is to let the employing units decide when, how many and who to hire, as has just begun on a trial basis.

CSO: 4000/222

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

IDEOLOGICAL EDUCATION FOR YOUNG WORKERS

HK281223 Beijing GONGREN RIBAO in Chinese 20 Jul 83 p 1

[Editorial: "Persevere in Carrying Out Among Young Workers Education on Patriotism and Communism--First Discourse on Intensifying Ideological and Political Work Among Workers in Enterprises"]

[Text] How properly to carry out ideological education among young workers has already become one of the problems which needs an urgent solution in ideological and political work among workers in enterprises at present. The reports on the Qingdao No 6 rubber factory and other units which are carried in our paper today give accounts of how these units started with investigation and study and correcting their understanding of young workers of our time, and, in accordance with the conditions of respective units, adopted various flexible forms persistently to carry out education on patriotism and communism among young workers. Consequently, they obtained relatively good results. These reports are very inspiring.

At present, there are different views toward young workers in society. Some speak highly of them while others speak ill of them. Are they a promising generation or a degenerate generation? Is their essential aspect good or bad? If we do not have a correct basic assessment of young workers of our time and do not have a basic understanding of them--the main targets of our work--our thinking, feelings, and work methods cannot be correct and we will often get half the result with twice the effort, and will even get the opposite result, in our educational work. The grouting branch bureau CPC committee of the Changjiang Gezhouba construction bureau had lessons in this respect. Thorough practice, they came to understand later that in order to do a good job in carrying out education among young workers, we all must first concentrate our efforts on investigating and studying the targets of our work, correct our misunderstanding of young workers, make friends with young workers by adopting an attitude of equality, friendship, and sincerity, find out about their minds, thoughts, and feelings, and familiarize ourselves with their happiness, sorrows, likes and dislikes. In this way, the result of our educational work will be entirely different.

Numerous facts in production, study, and daily life have proved that the essential aspect of the new generation of the working class is good, that they have a relatively high cultural level, like to use their brains and do not

lightly listen to others, are glad to carry out reforms and are not content with things as they are, are sensitive to new things and accept them relatively more quickly, and do not stick to conventions. All these are strong points characteristic of them. At present, most of the people fighting in the front line of production and construction are young workers. They work enthusiastically and study diligently. Most of them have become backbone and main forces in production and construction and have made great contributions to the modernization program. At present, a patriotic upsurge of loving the socialist motherland and dedicating themselves to making it strong and prosperous is already in the making among the broad masses of youths.

Of course, as a result of special historical conditions and for other reasons, various problems also exist among the young workers and some problems are even relatively serious. Regarding these problems, we should pay great attention to them, make analyses of them according to facts, and then, with these problems in mind, carry out careful and deep going ideological and political work. In the course of realizing the socialist modernization program in our country, we should constantly carry out and strengthen propaganda and education on patriotism among the young workers, help them foster a patriotic spirit, and raise their patriotic consciousness. This is an important task in building the socialist spiritual civilization with the communist ideology as its core and is also the basic content of ideological and political work.

"Patriotism is a kind of deepest love toward our motherland which has been consolidated over thousands of years." The path from patriotism to communism is the path which the Chinese people have taken and are taking. Even though a very small number of young workers have some doubts concerning socialism, they are patriotic. Patriotism has a different content in different times. At the present stage, we cannot love our motherland without loving socialism because "only socialism can save China" and the destiny of the motherland is inseparable from that of socialism. Ideological education, beginning with patriotism, can be accepted most extensively by the people. As long as we persevere in carrying out education in patriotism, continuously raise the patriotic consciousness of the young workers, and, with this as a starting point, boldly and assuredly carry out careful and deepgoing education in communism, we will be able gradually to raise the consciousness of the broad masses of young workers to the level of communist ideology. We hope that trade unions at all levels will follow the "Opinions Concerning Strengthening Propaganda and Education on Patriotism" put forward by the research office of the Secretariat and the Propaganda Department of the CPC Central Committee and adopt various forms to embody systematically and in a planned way the content of patriotism in ideological education among the broad masses of workers, the young workers in particular, so that their patriotic consciousness will be turned into resolute concrete actions to build the two civilizations and to contribute to invigorating our country's economy!

CSO: 4000/222

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

HU YAOBANG INSPECTS ZANZHOU PLA, AIR FORCE UNITS

OW291111 Beijing XINHUA in English 1100 GMT 29 Jul 83

[Text] Lanzhou, 29 July (XINHUA)--Hu Yaobang, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, inspected People's Liberation Army and Air Force units in Lanzhou, northwest China, today on the eve of the country's "August First" army day.

The party leader encouraged PLA commanders and fighters to make new contributions in defending and building China's vast northwestern border regions.

During his tour, Hu visited the barracks of the PLA's "diamond" regiment, now marking the 50th anniversary of its founding. The regiment was given its name by the new fourth army for meritorious service in wartime.

Hu urged the regiment to develop the glorious traditions of the revolution. "To develop this tradition, the army must strengthen its military and political training, while defending the motherland and safeguarding the fruits of the four modernizations. It must study military affairs and science while improving the cultural level of the army as a whole, in order to bring up soldiers capable of both fighting and aiding construction, and to strengthen its mass work in joining the masses in building socialist civilization," Hu said.

Hu also inspected the ninth and fifth companies of the regiment and visited their company history exhibition.

Accompanying Hu Yaobang on his tour were Zhang Tingfa, commander of the PLA Air Force; Zheng Weishan, commander of the PLA's Lanzhou units; and Li Ziqi, secretary of the Lanzhou provincial committee of the Communist Party.

CSO: 4000/222

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

BRIEFS

YANG DEZHI IN QINGDAO--Beijing, 31 July (XINHUA)--Yang Dezhi, member of the political bureau of the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee and chief of the general staff of the Chinese People's Liberation Army, today urged PLA commanders and fighters to build the army into a great wall of steel to defend the modernization drive. He was speaking at a meeting arranged by the Qingdao city people's government this afternoon in Qingdao, Shandong Province, in celebration of the 56th anniversary of the founding of the PLA. Ye Fei, vice-chairman of the National People's Congress Standing Committee, also attended the discussion. In his speech, Yang Dezhi recalled how the army has grown from a weak, scattered guerrilla force into a revolutionary army equipped with modern weapons and become an important force guarding the security of the country and peace in the Asian and Pacific region. Yesterday, Wang Zhen, member of the political bureau of the CPC Central Committee, Huang Hua, vice-chairman of the NPC Standing Committee, and Qian Changzhao, vice-chairman of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, also joined the more than 1,000 commanders and fighters of the PLA stationed on the Changshan Islands off the Bohai Sea at an army day celebration. [Text] [0W311702 Beijing XINHUA in English 1639 GMT 31 Jul 83]

CSO: 4000/222

EAST REGION

NEED FOR CADRES TO SET EXAMPLE REITERATED

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 18 May 83 p 1

[Article: "Leaders Should Set an Example in Correcting Party Style; Municipal CPC Committee Carries out Spirit of the Second Plenary Session of the CPC Discipline Committee in Making Assignments; Need to Relate to Realities and Correct Attitudes in Carrying Out Central Committee Lines, Programs, and Policies; to Adhere to Democratic Centralism and to Overcome Weakness and Slackness; and to Resolutely Check Both the Use of Official Authority for Private Gain and Bureaucratism"]

[Text] From 11 to 14 May, the Shanghai CPC Committee held a citywide conference of responsible Communist Party cadres. The theme of this conference was carrying into effect the spirit of the Second Plenary Session of the Central Committee Discipline Committee, and to bring about with all possible speed a fundamental change for the better in the Shanghai Party's work style.

Municipal CPC Committee First Secretary Chen Guodong [7115 0948 2767], second secretary Hu Lijiao [5170 4539 2403], and secretaries Yang Ti [2799 1029] and Yuan Chongwu [7086 1504 2976] attended the conference. Speaking on behalf of the Municipal CPC Committee, Comrade Yang Ti made a summarizing speech at the conference. Comrade Hu Lijiao made an important speech about current work in Shanghai and outlined plans.

Wang Yaoshan [3769 1031 1472], director of the Municipal CPC Committee Discipline Inspection Commission's Preparatory Group, made a speech at the conference titled, "Carry Out the Spirit of the Second Session of the Central Committee Discipline Commission, and Bring About as Quickly as Possible a Fundamental Change for the Better in Party Style." Municipal CPC Committee Standing Committee member, Wang Jian [3769 7003], delivered a report titled, "Status of Shanghai Municipality's War on Serious Criminal Activities in the Economic Field, and Thoughts About the Future." Following heated and diligent discussion, comrades attending the conference acknowledged that these two reports were in keeping with actual circumstances in Shanghai, and they all expressed agreement with them.

The conference reviewed the attention to party style of the Central Committee and the Municipal CPC Committee during the past several years, and analyzed the present state of party style in Shanghai. They unanimously agreed that as a

result of efforts during these several years, a marked improvement has taken place in Shanghai party style, a factor which has given impetus to the building of socialist material civilization and spiritual civilization. They also agreed that for various reasons quite a few problems still exist in party style that cannot be ignored, and that extremely great efforts will still be required to bring about a fundamental change for the better in party style.

The conference acknowledged that correction of party style will require, first of all, correction of problems in attitude toward the lines, programs and policies that have followed in the wake of the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC meeting, and maintenance of political unanimity with the CPC Central Committee. Party style is closely bound up with the party's guiding ideas, and unless guiding ideas are corrected, there can be no correction of party style. Correcting party style requires taking the lead and serving as a personal example. "One who is personally upright is able to act without being commanded." The key to the lack of fundamental change for the better in Shanghai party style is in the hands of leading members of department and commission offices, and district and country bureau CPC committees. This is extraordinarily important.

The conference emphasized that most important in carrying out the spirit of the Second Plenary Session of the Central Committee Discipline Commission is that cadres at all levels, particularly leading cadres above the county Youth League level, must relate to realities before all-around party consolidation. They must compare and examine their own thinking and work, carry forward accomplishments, overcome shortcomings, correct errors, and use their own model behavior to influence and stimulate party members throughout the city to study the new party constitution and to put the new party constitution into effect, make ideological preparations for all-around party consolidation, and make a contribution to bringing about a fundamental change for the better in party style as quickly as possible. Emphasis during inspection should be on whether or not attitudes toward Central Committee lines, programs and policies are sufficiently correct, and whether democratic centralism is adhered to.

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CSO: 4005/931

EAST REGION

FOUR REQUIREMENTS FOR REFORMING PARTY STYLE LISTED

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 16 May 83 p 1

[Article by Xinhua Correspondent Zhang Xuequan [1728 1331 0356]: "Municipal CPC Committee Puts Forward Four Requirements for Reforming Party Style; Struggle Tenaciously, Persistently, and Dauntlessly; Party Organizations at All Levels are to Improve Understanding, and Leading Cadres in the Party are to Take the Lead in Strengthening Discipline Inspection Activities and in Carrying Forward the Doing of Fine Deeds by Fine People, and Supporting Right While Suppressing Wrong"]

[Text] In order to bring about as rapidly as possible a fundamental turn for the better in the Shanghai party's style, the Shanghai CPC Committee has put forward four requirements for reforming the party style that require tenacious, persistent, and dauntless struggle against unhealthy tendencies within the party. This was part of the work done by the conference of party member cadres in responsible positions throughout the city that was convened by the Shanghai Municipal CPC Committee from 11 to 14 May.

At this conference, the Shanghai Municipal CPC Committee put forward four requirements for correcting party style as follows:

1. CPC committees and party organizations at all levels are to improve further their understanding of the importance and urgency of reforming party style. They should use study of 12th Party Congress documents as a basis for diligent study of the spirit of pertinent Central Committee documents, and build party organizations at all levels into strong fortresses for resolutely carrying out the CPC Central Committee line.
2. Leading cadres in the party, beginning with the Municipal CPC Committee, should take the lead in keeping touch with realities, and take the lead in checking on whether or not attitudes toward CPC Central Committee lines, programs and policies have been sufficiently corrected. They should check on the situation as regards adherence to democratic centralism and on whether softness and slackness exists; and they should check on whether leading cadres who are party members have used their official positions for private gain or are bureaucratic. Results of these checks are to be reported to higher party organization by the end of August.

3. Strengthening of party discipline inspection work. Discipline inspection work has been strengthened in recent years; nevertheless, it still does not meet the needs for building the party in a new period, and some party organizations do not devote serious attention to discipline inspection work. Leaders of some units "do not like" discipline inspection cadres who dare to touch "tigers' behinds," and find an excuse to be transferred to other duties. This state of affairs must be changed. Henceforth, party organizations at all levels are to provide competent cadres to strengthen discipline inspection work. They are to discuss regularly the state of party style, party discipline and problems existing in their own organization. Prefecture, county, and bureau CPC committees are to write a semiannual report to the Municipal CPC Committee on rectification of party style, with copies to leading municipal discipline inspection departments.

4. CPC committees at all levels are to carry forward the doing of fine deeds by fine people and supporting right while suppressing wrong to establish healthy trends. They must dare to take hold of and curb all wrong words and deeds, seriously criticize whatever deserves criticism, resolutely punish whatever should be punished, and positively not be wishy-washy. Party cadres should be strict in taking themselves to task for their own shortcomings, and should listen humbly to the views of others. Party cadres should resolutely support party members and the masses in struggling against unhealthy tendencies. They should see problems clearly and handle them decisively in order to protect the enthusiasm of party members and the masses.

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CSO: 4005/931

EAST REGION

SUCCESS OF RESPONSIBILITY SYSTEM LAUDED

Jinan DAZHONG RIBAO in Chinese 16 May 83 p 1

[Article by Xiang Jiang [0683 3068], Feng Jun [7685 6511], Shu Sheng [2579 3932] and Yi Rong [4135 2837]: "The Image of Organs Has Changed Since They No Longer 'Eat from the Common Pot'."]

[Text] Since Ningjin County established the personal responsibility system for party and state cadres and began the practice of floating dividend payments, everyone happily says that organ work also no longer draws upon the "common pot."

This spring the Ningjin County CPC Committee and the county government formulated a personal responsibility system for party and state cadres and carried out the experiment of a 100-point system for floating dividends. Thoroughly implementing the party's line, principles and policies, professional work, attendance, study, solidarity, spiritual civilization construction, the handling of affairs according to the "Guiding Principles" etc, form the primary grading content for the cadre personal responsibility system, whereby two yuan are subtracted from the standard monthly wage of every state cadre throughout the county to be used for the floating dividend, inspections being carried out on the basis of the 100-point system. Those who have earned 100 points at the end of the year can receive a floating dividend and a year-end thrift prize corresponding to this grade. For those who earn over 100 points, a notice of commendation will be circulated and their inspection score will be entered into their file to be used for future ranking, as a basis for promotion; at the same time, they are able to receive a greater share of the definite floating dividend and the year-end thrift prize. For those who earn above 70 but below 100 points, a portion of the floating dividend and of the year-end thrift prize will be subtracted depending upon how low their grade is. Those who have below 70 points receive neither a floating dividend nor a year-end thrift prize. In this way, the circumstances of its being all the same whether one did well or not have changed so that the effects of awarding the diligent and punishing the lazy and of motivating activism have been accomplished and widespread cadre support attained.

In order for the personal responsibility system for organ cadres to receive realistic implementation, the following measures of assurance were adopted:

1) Various leadership cadres must be good examples, taking the lead in implementation, and they must combine this with their inspection duties, on an ordinary basis checking on how the responsibility system is being carried out in various departments; 2) Four cadres were transferred from the county CPC Organization Department, the county Personnel Office and CPC committee organs directly under the county to form a special team which has the responsibility of handling inspections of the conditions of implementation of the organ cadre responsibility system and for examinations. The various departments and communes under the county established and perfected a system for checking on attendance, assigning one person to check attendance and establishing a monthly date for the attendance check result to be reported to upper levels. At the end of the year, experiences are to be summarized and comparative inspection appraisals earnestly conducted to guarantee that awards and punishments are being carried out.

Having been practiced by Ningjin County since March or April, this method has already yielded obvious results. Cadre duties are clear, organizational discipline has been strengthened and the work of the organs has been put into order. According to the attendance statistics for 317 cadres in 22 departments and communes directly under the county, not even one person was absent from duty without cause. At the same time, the county commune leadership cadres were able to have more time to get involved in grassroots study and research, and a new mood of working together as one in striving to create a new phase has appeared.

12314
CSO: 4005/893

EAST REGION

LEFT-WING INFLUENCE DENOUNCED IN SHANDONG

Jinan DAZHONG RIBAO in Chinese 19 May 83 p 1

[Article by Staff Commentator: "Eliminate Left-Wing Influence and Improve Cadres' Ways"]

[Text] Today our newspaper published a letter about a member of the Liukeng Brigade who was bound and taken into custody for reporting the excessive overtime of cadres and an explanation of our staff reporters' investigation. Some of our cadres remain under the influence of the "left wing." They greatly lack the concepts of democracy and the legal system. They have forgotten that the sole purpose of our party is to serve the people wholeheartedly; not only are they unable to heed the masses' opinions and demands, on the contrary, they do things which go against the wishes of the people. The problem reported of the Liukeng Brigade is definitely typical and should attract the serious attention of cadres at various levels.

In the end, the general principle for determining what form of production responsibility system should be practiced in a single unit ought to be practical and realistic. That is to say that we must begin with the actual conditions of the unit itself and with the will and the choices of the majority of the masses. Looking at the whole province and even the whole country, we see that after the 3rd Plenum of the 11th CPC Congress, precisely because various places--in accordance with party policy and totally respecting the will and the positive spirit of the masses--pursued many forms of the responsibility system appropriate to the concrete conditions of each area, have made the production forces, which had suffered bondage for a long time, achieve rapid development and caused the appearance in all rural areas of extremely good conditions never seen before. This is the joyful result of cadres at various levels and the masses overcoming the influence of "leftism" which had been evolving for a long time. It is regrettable that in promoting the responsibility system of complete contract output quotas for agricultural production, the thought of some of the cadres of Chengguan Township in Yanggu County and of the Liukeng Brigade was influenced by the bondage of "leftism." They accused commune members who enthusiastically demanded the implementation of the dual contract responsibility system, which already in many places had demonstrated its colossal strength, of intending to destroy the collective economy--such an obvious "leftist" influence! One can see from this that some cadres worked for many years under the influence of the "left wing" and formed a set of stubborn "left-wing" concepts. And then, after the 3rd Plenum of

the 11th CPC Congress, they did not undergo study by which they could have earnestly straightened themselves out; therefore, on some issues they are still under the control of "left-wing" thought. This greatly deserves our profound consideration and serious attention.

With regard to the Liukeng Brigade incident, another issue deserves attention: namely, the workstyle of some grassroots' cadres. Our communist party cadres ought to be the public servants of the masses, the hardworking servants of the people, and not lords who wantonly bully and oppress the masses. Since they are public servants, that means they are to conscientiously serve the masses. In every project, they ought to respect the democratic rights of the masses, humbly listening to their opinions, handling work in accordance with the aspirations of the great majority of the masses of people. However, some cadres in Chengguan Township in Yanggu County and in the Liukeng Brigade have a lordly attitude toward the masses of the people; tigers whose backsides no one dares to touch, they force the masses of people to work in compliance with "their" will, simply not listening to the opinions of the masses. Moreover, they blame the masses who make suggestions of "causing mischief," and even go to the point of having them tied up and taken into custody. This is simply playing the tyrant, defying human and divine law. Where has the legal sense of these cadres gone? Does any tiny little bit of policy sense remain? Isn't this really and truly the conduct of lords? We should give strict criticism to this kind of cadre and, if necessary, dispose of them. This incident has also reminded the leadership on various levels to increase democratic and legal education at various cadre levels, especially for those at the grassroots level, and to realistically foster a concept of the legal system, encouraging democratic ways and respecting the democratic rights of the masses. We absolutely cannot allow them to become lords who wantonly bully and oppress the masses.

Finally, we should point out that the letter from the Liukeng Brigade commune member has already come to the attention of comrades in the provincial CPC leadership, who have, moreover, demanded that the matter be dealt with as quickly as possible. Yanggu County's CPC Committee has already proposed suggestions for handling the affair. However, it still bears pointing out that these suggestions have up until today for the most part not been carried out yet. We recommend that the Yanggu County CPC Committee deal strictly with the matter, find out who is there "hedging" and "blocking" and adopt forceful measures; we must resolve the issue in order to eliminate this vile influence.

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CSO: 4005/893

NORTH REGION

HEBEI RIBAO ON DENG'S WORKS, MAO ZEDONG THOUGHT

HK261407 Shijiazhuang HEBEI RIBAO in Chinese 7 Jul 83 p 4

[Article by Lai Zhude [6351 4371 1795]: "Seeking Truth From Facts Is the Essence of Mao Zedong Thought--Thoughts on Studying 'Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping'"]

[Text] Seeking truth from facts is the essence of Mao Zedong Thought. This is an important notion put forward by Comrade Deng Xiaoping at the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee. In his works "Grasp Mao Zedong Thought as a Whole and Accurately," "Speech at the All-Army Political Work Conference," and "Hold Aloft the Banner of Mao Zedong Thought and Adhere to the Principle of Seeking Truth From Facts," he profoundly expounded this fundamental point of Mao Zedong Thought. Drawing this conclusion played a tremendous role in guiding the reestablishment of the Marxist ideological line in the third plenary session, and in promoting the whole party to set to rights things which have been thrown into disorder and to find and decide on the correct path to socialist modernization. In studying "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" today, we should have a clear understanding of this notion in order to have a deeper understanding of the party's ideological line of seeking truth from facts.

"Seeking truth from facts," "always proceeding from reality," and "linking theory with practice" have long been guidelines acknowledged by the whole party. It was precisely by depending on the four big characters of "seeking truth from facts" that our party scored victories in the democratic revolution and the socialist revolution. However, starting from the late 1950's, mistakes of dogmatism and the personality cult gradually developed in our party. In the course of building socialism, we suffered a series of setbacks which led to the mistake of the "Great Cultural Revolution" which affected the overall situation. Under such circumstances, whatever the books of our superiors said was regarded as correct and people always proceeded from what the books said or what a certain authoritative person said. The tradition of seeking truth from facts was completely discarded. After the downfall of the "gang of four," the party and the people urgently demanded that the

tradition of seeking truth from facts be restored. The work of setting to rights things which had been thrown into disorder had corrected the mistake of the "Great Cultural Revolution." However, the erroneous guiding ideology of the "two whatevers" prevented Deng Xiaoping and other proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation from resuming office earlier and opposed redressing the "Tiananmen Square Incident." It seriously affected the work of setting to right things which had been thrown into disorder and fettered the people's minds. The development of history incisively put these questions to the party and the people: What is the fundamental point or essence of Mao Zedong Thought? How can we really hold aloft the banner of Mao Zedong Thought? It was precisely under these circumstances that Comrade Deng Xiaoping, with a proletarian revolutionary's boldness of vision and tremendous courage resulting from theoretical understanding, explicitly put forward the conclusion that seeking truth from facts is the essence of Mao Zedong Thought. In his speech delivered at the 3d Plenary Session of the 10th CPC Central Committee in July 1977, he said that following the mass line and seeking truth from facts are most essential in the work style advocated by Comrade Mao Zedong. Viewed from the existing situation of our party, the mass line and seeking truth from facts are particularly important. When a nationwide discussion on the standard of truth was being carried out in June 1978, he further pointed out in his "Speech at the All-army Political Work Conference": Seeking truth from facts is the starting point and fundamental point of Mao Zedong Thought. In September 1978, he again delivered a speech entitled "Hold Aloft the Banner of Mao Zedong Thought and Adhere to the Principle of Seeking Truth From Facts" after listening to reports made by the Jilin Provincial CPC Committee Standing Committee. He said that Comrade Mao Zedong wrote the four big characters of "seeking truth from facts" for the CPC Central Committee party school in Yanan and the essence of Mao Zedong Thought is these four characters. In putting forward that seeking truth from facts is the essence of Mao Zedong Thought, Comrade Deng Xiaoping has grasped the core of Mao Zedong Thought, restored Mao Zedong Thought to its true colors, and solved the problem of the fundamental attitude toward Mao Zedong Thought. This plays a very important role in helping us have a deep understanding of Mao Zedong Thought.

First, Mao Zedong Thought itself is the product of seeking truth from facts and is the fruit of integrating Marxism-Leninism with concrete practice of the Chinese revolution. In the late 1920's and early 1930's, the erroneous tendencies of dogmatizing Marxism and deifying resolutions of the Communist International and the experience of the Soviet Union existed in the international communist movement and in our party. A typical example is Wang Ming's line. It was precisely through adhering to the principle of seeking truth from facts, persisting in proceeding from reality, and linking Marxism with the reality of the Chinese revolution in the struggle against these tendencies that the CPC party members represented by Comrade Mao Zedong created a complete set of revolutionary theories and a revolutionary path with China's own characteristics. As Comrade Deng Xiaoping said, neither Marx nor Lenin ever mentioned encircling the cities from the rural areas

and this principle did not exist at that time. However, in accordance with China's concrete conditions, Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out the concrete revolutionary path of encircling the cities from the rural areas and eventually seizing political power. Could such a problem have been put forward and solved without the basic ideology of seeking truth from fact? It can be said that the fundamental reason Comrade Mao Zedong was great and the reason Mao Zedong Thought could become what it is--the existence of the principle of seeking truth from facts. Without this principle, Mao Zedong Thought would not have come into existence.

Second, seeking truth from facts is a principle which Comrade Mao Zedong always advocated. Numerous facts listed in the "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping" show that Chairman Mao had always advocated the principle of seeking truth from facts ever since he participated in the communist movement and since the period he began to found the party. In the resolution adopted at the Gutian meeting in 1929, he incisively opposed subjectivist guidance. In 1930, Chairman Mao wrote the article "Oppose Book Worship." From 1936 to 1937, Chairman Mao summed up the lesson of the failure of the revolution caused by Wang Ming's erroneous line and wrote the immortal masterpieces "On Practice" and "On Contradictions." In these articles, Comrade Mao Zedong raised the principle of seeking truth from facts to a philosophical plane and made theoretical generalization and analyses of this principle in light of the theory of cognition. Comrade Mao Zedong stressed that practice is the sole standard for testing truth. Comrade Mao Zedong made use of the law of unity of opposites, stressed the great significance of studying and grasping the particularities of contradictions, explained that contradictions of different natures must be resolved with methods of different natures, and so on. In this way, he brought to light that the principle of seeking truth from facts is a methodological basis. The principle of seeking truth from facts was vested with rich contents of Marxist materialism and dialectics and became the world outlook and methodology of the CPC party members, running through all component parts of Mao Zedong Thought.

Third, the principle of seeking truth from facts has bestowed on Mao Zedong Thought the vigor to constantly develop and enrich itself. The principle of seeking truth from facts demands that we make concrete analyses of concrete things under the guidance of Marxist principles in order to understand and solve problems. It also demands that in making analyses on concrete things, we should always proceed from reality and must not confine ourselves to existing conclusions or stick to conventions. This principle is full of creative spirit, the spirit of development, and the spirit of respecting facts. It has opened a wide path for the development of Mao Zedong Thought.

Lenin once said that revolutionaries must be good at finding the special link on the chain of each opportunity and must grasp it with all their efforts in order to seize the whole chain and steadily prepare to move on to the next link. In putting forward that seeking truth from facts is the essence of

Mao Zedong Thought, Comrade Deng Xiaoping precisely grasped the key link of the entire revolutionary chain. This has manifested his foresight, sagacity, courage, resourcefulness, and superb skills of leadership of a proletarian revolutionary. "Seeking truth from facts" played an important role in the historical progress of our party and country, effecting a great change through emancipating the mind and setting to rights things which had been thrown into disorder.

--It has provided us with a theoretical weapon for adopting a correct attitude toward Mao Zedong Thought. As Comrade Deng Xiaoping put it, how to hold aloft the banner of Mao Zedong Thought is a major question. The view of the "two-whatevers" treated whatever Chairman Mao as truth. Whatever documents were read and approved by Chairman Mao could not be changed and whatever Chairman Mao said or did had to be followed. In fact, this was to stick to the mistakes of Comrade Mao Zedong in his last years and to hold aloft falsely the banner of Mao Zedong Thought. On the other hand, seeking truth from facts is to do, in accordance with new historical conditions, things which were put forward by Comrade Mao Zedong but which have not been done or properly completed, and to correct what he wrongly opposed. Only in this way are we holding aloft the banner of Mao Zedong Thought. Since the third plenary session, our party has correctly assessed Comrade Mao Zedong and Mao Zedong Thought, and, under new historical conditions, upheld and developed Mao Zedong Thought. This is precisely the best way to implement the principle of seeking truth from facts.

--It has opened a way to setting to rights things which have been thrown into disorder in overall way. We should seek truth from facts, proceed from reality, correctly sum up the experience and lessons in the 30-odd years since the founding of the country, and correct "leftist" mistakes during and before the "Great Cultural Revolution." Naturally, we should also adhere to the principles of seeking truth from facts and of "correcting whatever is wrong," and redress all unjust, false, and wrong cases in history.

--It has pointed out the direction for finding a way to modernization with China's own characteristics. The third plenary session resolutely shifted the focus of the party and the state's work to economic construction. After the third plenary session, the eight-character policy of "readjusting, restructuring, consolidating, and improving" was put forward. At present, all reforms on the economic and political systems which are being carried out are important policy decisions made by the CPC Central Committee according to the principle of seeking truth from facts. It is certain that as long as we adhere to the principle of seeking truth from facts we will find a way to socialist modernization with China's own characteristics.

Comrade Deng Xiaoping's conclusion that seeking truth from facts is the essence of Mao Zedong Thought has been tested in practice. It is accepted and supported by the whole party and by all the people of the country. As time passes, it will show more and more clearly its tremendous spiritual and material strength.

NORTH REGION

REGULARIZING TEACHING IN PARTY SCHOOLS DISCUSSED

HK250304 Shijiazhuang HEBEI RIBAO in Chinese 9 Jul 83 p 1

[Editorial: "Follow A Down-to-Earth Manner To Regularize Teaching in Party Schools"]

[Text] In his report to the 12th CPC National Congress, Comrade Hu Yaobang explicitly pointed out: "From now on, in the employment and promotion of cadres, it is as imperative to take one's formal schooling record and academic record as an important basis as it is with one's working experiences and achievements." It is also required that party schools at various levels "revise their syllabus, and take up the task of carrying on regular training of cadres in accordance with the need of the cause of socialist modernization, each with its own division of labor." This is the new task and requirement put forward to the work of party schools by the party under the new historical age. It is also a historic turning point in the work of party schools from chiefly conducting short-term rotational training of cadres to gradually turning to conducting chiefly regular training.

Party schools are charged with the task of the training and training in rotation of principal party and government leading cadres at various levels. They are playing a special and important role in the educational work of all the cadres. Regularizing party school education is of great significance to revolutionizing, improving educational level, and specializing the contingent of cadres; to building our party into a staunch leadership core in leading the cause of socialist modernization; and to carrying forward the cause and forging ahead into the future in ensuring the continuance of the party's line. The party and government organizations and the cadre system are undergoing reform. And the core of the reform of organizations and the cadre system is to select and cultivate leading bodies that are revolutionized, younger in age, better educated and specialized. The practice of party schools in carrying out regular training of outstanding young and middle-aged cadres and in organizing cadres at their posts to engage in advanced study is precisely an important approach to solving this problem. The view of regarding the reforms of organization and cadre system simply as the reduction of personnel and the merging of organs, but making no arrangements for regular

training or rotation training of cadres, is an expression of a lack of all-round understanding of the reform of organizations. The Central Committee has explicitly stipulated that we must strive to gradually ensure that starting from the period of the Seventh 5-Year Plan, cadres taking up the chief leading posts of party and government organizations at the provincial and prefectural levels must have gone through cultivation and training of the Central Party School; cadres taking up chief leading posts of party and government organizations at the county level must have gone through cultivation and training of party schools of the provinces, cities, or autonomous regions; and the chief leading cadres under the administration of the CPC committees at the prefecture, city and county levels must also have gone through the cultivation and training of party schools of the prefectures, cities and counties. This stipulation also fully explained that the reform in the leadership system is closely connected with the training of cadres. In this matter that concerns the overall situation, it is necessary for us to attach great importance and do a good job of it in a down-to-earth manner.

The regularizing of the party schools is centered around the target of cultivating backbone party and government leadership and its reserves of personnel in the four modernizations. It will take education as the key, and carry out an overall reform on a series of questions such as the candidates for enrollment, the school system, curriculum, examination and inspection, graduation, and schooling record, and so on; and will gradually form a party school educational system which is regular, systematized, and with Chinese characteristics. This is an important project in the construction of the party that involves a wide range of aspects. Not only is it necessary to eliminate the affects brought about by the damages of the 10 years of turbulence, but even more so it is to start from the requirements of the new historical age in carrying out overall and systematic reforms. Therefore, it needs to go through the course of gradual reform, construction and perfection. It is necessary to start from the realities of our province and to gradually fulfill the task under leadership, in accordance with the existing foundation of our work and the subjective and objective conditions. The provincial CPC committee requires that the institution of regular education in party schools at various levels of the province be gradually completed within 3, 5 or 7 years. The party school under the provincial CPC committee should institute regular education as soon as possible in accordance with the training task, scope of expansion, establishment, and increase of funds as approved by the provincial CPC committee, so as to create the conditions for regular education throughout the province. The CPC committees of various prefectures and cities should grasp well the construction of party schools of their levels, and achieve regularizing within 3 to 5 years. The regularizing of party schools under the county CPC committees should be realized in batches within 5 or 7 years. This is a positive, reliable, and realistic arrangement and plan drawn up in accordance with the existing basis of the development of the party schools of our province, and the possibilities of the manpower, financial, and material powers of our province. Party schools with better conditions should take a step sooner; those with poorer conditions should also make positive efforts, overcome difficulties, create conditions, and strive for the realization of the plan as soon as possible.

The key to regularizing party school education lies in strengthening and improving the leadership of party committees, and gaining the support of the whole party. It is necessary for party committees at various levels to consider the work of party schools as an important item on the agenda, listen to reports at periodic intervals, carry on studies, grasp the work in earnest, and effectively strengthen their leadership over party schools. It is necessary to attach importance to assigning and building the leading bodies of party schools. It is necessary to select those cadres who have politically stood the tests, who are strong in party character, good in style, and have acquired a certain level of culture and theory to strengthen the leading bodies of party schools. Between the party committees and party schools at a higher level and the party committees and party schools at a lower level, necessary relations of professional guidance should be established.

It is necessary for party committees at various levels to mobilize and organize various departments to show concern for and support the construction of regular party school education, and help party schools solve those practical problems that should be solved. In making arrangements for operation expenses and capital construction of party schools, it is necessary to implement the intentions of the Central Committee [phrase indistinct] Organizations and propaganda departments of party committees should strengthen their connection with party schools, work in close coordination, and make concerted efforts to realize regular party school education under the unified leadership of the party committees.

Leading cadres, and teachers and staff of party schools at various levels should fully understand the importance and urgency of the reform of party schools, do a good job in various items of work of party schools in the spirit of reform, and strengthen their own construction, so as to make new contributions to regularizing party school education, and to creating a new situation in the training work in party schools.

The Central Committee has made the important resolution on regularizing party school education in light of realities. The second party school work conference of our province has made concrete arrangements and plans for the implementation of this resolution. So long as we resolutely act in accordance with the resolution of the Central Committee and the plan of the provincial CPC committee, and [phrase indistinct].

CSO: 4005/1038

NORTH REGION

SHANXI CONVENES PEOPLE'S CONGRESS MEETING

SK301213 Taiyuan SHANXI RIBAO in Chinese 8 Jul 83 p 1

[Text] On the morning of 7 July, the Sixth Provincial People's Congress held its second Standing Committee meeting in Taiyuan.

The meeting is scheduled to last 5 days. The main items on the agenda are: 1) to relay the guidelines of the first session of the Sixth National People's Congress and to make relevant resolutions; 2) to listen to the reports on implementing the new Constitution, made by the provincial higher people's court, the provincial people's procuratorate and the provincial public security office; 3) to pass and approve the provisional regulations on gas management in Taiyuan City; and 4) to pass on appointments and removals.

Attending the meeting were 44 persons, including Ruan Bosheng, chairman of the Standing Committee of the provincial people's congress; Vice Chairmen Huo Fa, Feng Sutao, Ren Yinglun, Chen Sigong, Wang Bichen, Ma Guishu, Jiang Yi, Guo Qinan and Wei Yunyu and members of the Standing Committee of the provincial people's congress.

Chairman Ruan Bosheng relayed the guidelines of the first session of the Sixth National People's Congress at the opening ceremony.

He said: The first session of the Sixth National People's Congress is of great significance. Under the guidance of "never forgetting solidarity and struggle and being dedicated to vitalizing China," the session was well and successfully convened. The session marks the unity, prosperity and successful development of the nation and all nationalities. This session is of great significance for leading and mobilizing the people of all nationalities to consolidate and develop the political situation in which unity and stability go hand in hand with liveliness and vitality and for ensuring the state a correct implementation of all principles and policies and a sound development of economic construction.

In line with our province's specific condition, Chairman Ruan Bosheng set forth four opinions on implementing the guidelines of the first session of the Sixth National People's Congress: 1) The vast number of the masses

should study and publicize the session guidelines, define tasks, strengthen confidence, be united, make efforts, overcome difficulties and vitalize China; 2) deputies at all levels and local people's congress Standing Committees at all levels should lead the people in wholehearted support and supervision the government work so as to ensure the successful realization of the tasks for the coming 5 years, set forth at Premier Zhao's government work report; 3) continue publicizing the new Constitution, strengthen the construction of socialist democracy and the legal system, maintain social order and ensure the smooth progress of economic construction; and 4) implement the session guidelines with concrete deeds, stand fast at one's post and strive to make new achievements and contributions.

Attending the meeting as nonvoting delegates were members of all departments, commissions and offices under the provincial CPC committee and the provincial government and responsible persons of the provincial higher people's court, the provincial people's procuratorate, the provincial trade union council, the provincial CYL committee and the provincial women's federation.

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NORTH REGION

TIANJIN MEETING ON SPIRITUAL CIVILIZATION ENDS

SK251049 Tianjin City Service in Mandarin 0030 GMT 25 Jul 83

[Excerpts] The 4-day Tianjin municipal meeting to exchange experiences in army-civilian cooperation in building streets where civility reigns concluded on the morning of 24 July. The meeting called on the soldiers and civilians across the municipality to go into action and further conduct the activity of building civilized streets in an effort to effect a comprehensive handling of problems and overall construction of urban grassroots units. The meeting was presided over by (Pang Jicheng), deputy team leader of a certain PLA unit stationed in Tianjin. Speaking at the meeting were (Wang Keqin), deputy director of the mass work department of the general political department under the Central Military Commission; Qu Jingji, deputy political commissar of the Beijing PLA units; and Li Ruihuan, secretary of the Tianjin Municipal CPC Committee and Tianjin mayor.

Comrade (Wang Keqin) maintained in his speech: The meeting sponsored by Tianjin Municipality on the eve of the 56th anniversary of the PLA's founding is a meeting on mutual promotion, mutual study, and the strengthening of unity between the army and civilians as well as a meeting to further conduct the activity of army-civilian cooperation. The advanced typical cases introduced at the meeting are vivid and rich in content and their experiences are practical and suitable. An excellent situation of soldiers and civilians joining hands to build spiritual civilization has been manifested in all fields. Through summing up these experiences, a new path has been opened for further developing army-civilian cooperation and for building a civilized Tianjin Municipality.

Comrade Qu Jingji said: The campaign of soldiers and civilians joining hands to build civilized streets has developed well. After this meeting, great progress in this regard will be made. He called on the PLA units stationed in Tianjin to further enhance their understanding of the significance of army-civilian cooperation in building civilized streets. In the army-civilian cooperation campaign, the army should respect and obey the unified

leadership of the local CPC committees and people's governments, should offer good ideas, give good advice and assistance and should pay attention to the civilized centers which have already been built and learn from the localities with open minds so as to build a new type of relationship between the army and the government and between the army and the people.

In his speech, Comrade Li Ruihuan spoke highly of the achievements scored by the PLA units stationed in Tianjin and the Tianjin Garrison District in the campaign of soldiers and civilians joining hands to build civilized streets.

In his speech, Comrade Li Ruihuan stressed: Over the past few years, some improvements have been made in social order and public security, but a fundamental turn for the better in this regard has not yet been achieved. In the campaign of building civilized streets, it is necessary to implement the principle of comprehensively handling problems and overall construction, to strengthen the education on communist ideology, and to rescue and help the misled youths. At the same time, we must deal strict blows to a few criminals and must not be soft on them.

Present at yesterday's meeting were responsible comrades of the Tianjin Municipal CPC Committee, the municipal people's congress Standing Committee, the municipal people's government, the PLA units stationed in Tianjin, and the Tianjin Garrison District, including Zhang Zaiwang, Bai Hua, Xiao Yuan, He Guomo, Shi Jian, Yao Jun, Zhao Jiang, Wu Zhen, Song Zhenchun, (Zhou Shiming), Wu Zhiyuan, (Zheng Laichun), Lu Xuezheng, and (Wang Jinshan).

CSO: 4005/1038

NORTH REGION

TIANJIN HOLDS PARTY SCHOOL WORK CONFERENCE

SK310533 Tianjin City Service in Mandarin 0030 GMT 31 Jul 83

[Text] The party school work conference convened by the Tianjin Municipal CPC Committee concluded on 29 July. Participants conscientiously studied the decision of the CPC Central Committee on achieving regularization of party school education and the guidelines of the second national party school work conference. They also studied the plans and measures for regularizing the municipality's party school education.

(Liu Gangfeng), vice president of the party school of the municipal CPC committee, relayed the guidelines of the second national party school work conference. Xiao Yuan, Standing Committee member and director of the propaganda department of the municipal CPC committee, spoke at the end of the conference.

The participants reached the view that the important strategic principle set forth by the CPC Central Committee that party schools at all levels should shift their major work from rotational training of cadres on a short-term basis to training of cadres on a regular basis is a historical turning point of party school work. They held that achieving regularization of party school education and accelerating the training of backbone leaders of party schools have an important bearing on making the contingents of cadres more revolutionary, younger, better educated, and more professionally competent, on building the party, and on guaranteeing the fulfillment of the general task for the new period.

In line with the guidelines of the CPC Central Committee's decision, the conference urged that beginning in the Seventh 5-Year Plan period, efforts should be made to gradually enable principal party and government leading cadres at the county level to receive training by the party school of the municipal CPC committee and enable [words indistinct] principal leading cadres at the district or county level to receive training from the party schools at the district or county level. Party schools at all levels should coordinate with organization departments in evaluating and promoting cadres.

CSO: 4005/1038

TAIWAN

PREMIER SUN CONTRASTS MAINLAND, TAIWAN 'FREEDOM'

OW251902 Taipei CNA in English 1402 GMT 25 Jul 83

[Text] Taipei, 25 July (CNA):- The Republic of China has stood firm in its anti-communist position for decades, Premier Sun Yun-hsuan said Monday.

The Chinese Government and people have always adhered to the principles of no compromise and no deal with the Chinese communists, Premier Sun stressed.

He made the remarks while speaking at a tea party he gave at the Executive Yuan in honor of foreign dignitaries participating in the 1983 Captive Nations Week activities in this country.

Further excerpts from his speech:

"Support for the people of the captive nations in their struggle for freedom is the most distinguished and solemn cause in all human history. On the one hand, the Republic of China on Taiwan has played the role of an unsinkable aircraft carrier, forestalling international communist expansionism into the pacific. We have deterred Chinese communist penetration eastward, and protected the vital shipping lanes to our west and east, from Japan and Korea to the Middle East and Europe. The Republic of China is the central link in the free world's Pacific defense chain, so its strategic position is very important. On the other hand, the Republic of China is also a lighthouse for our compatriots on the Chinese mainland, showing the way in their struggle for freedom and democracy. This lighthouse inspires their pentup desire to overthrow the tyrannical communist regime.

"Over the last more than 30 years, our government has worked hard for national development in keeping with our founding father Dr Sun Yat-shen's three principles of the people. We have built Taiwan, Penghu, Kinmen and Matsu into a promising land characterized by social stability, economic prosperity, and satisfying lifestyles. In comparison, the Chinese communists on the mainland have continued to impose their communist system, resulting in a chaotic society, a backward economy, and a life characterized by misery and scant human freedom. It is because of this striking contrast between the two sides of the Taiwan Straits--the contrast of benevolent government with tyrannical rule--that the majority of the people on the mainland have lost all faith in Marxism-Leninism. They demand that the Chinese communist regime follow the example of Taiwan.

So long as the Republic of China presses to continue its development, to lengthen the distance of its lead and, thereby, strengthen the mainland people's aspirations for freedom and democracy, I am sure the day will soon come for the one billion mainland Chinese to overthrow the tyrannical communist regime and join the free world.

"The anti-slavery struggle of mankind demands an adamant will in combat and a paramount dedication to perseverance. In the 40 to 50 years of this anti-slavery struggle, some of the world's people have been demoralized--lost their courage to carry on the struggle. Others have broken away from reality into the illusive pretense of "pitting the communists against the communists." The Republic of China, however, has held ground, never budging a single inch. We have always adhered to our principles of no compromise, and of no deal with communists.

"Many of the prime-movers of compromise policies have, recently, candidly begun to reassess the directions of the world. Adoptions of strong positions against totalitarianism have become a new trend. The establishment of such organizations as the "World Movement of Democracy and Peace" and "International Democratic Alliance" are evidence that this new impulse into an overwhelming tide of anti-slavery.

"Today we are meeting the challenges of the times through vigorous construction, countering the enemy's united front offensive with our own progress, and coping with the changing world situation with unswerving determination. We believe that we are destined to win a glorious victory in our struggle against slavery. Let us, together, make a massive effort to create a better tomorrow."

Captive Nations Week activities will come to a close next Saturday.

CSO: 4000/219

HONG KONG CRITIC COMMENTS ON HU NA INCIDENT

Hong Kong CHI-SHI NIAN-TAI [THE SEVENTIES] in Chinese No 160, May 83 pp 66-68

[Article by Jiang Nan [3068 0589]: "Hu Na: A Wrestling Match"]

[Text] Beijing blindly assaults, knowing full well they are in an unfavorable position, yet they cherish a policy of preferring to lose everything [the benefits of good relations with the United States] rather than accept the dishonor [of America's refusal to return Hu Na], and adopt the diplomacy of laying all their cards on the table.... Taiwan takes advantage of loopholes in American law, and political contradictions, and hides behind the scenes, creating traps.... Whether or not America repatriates Hu Na is an important question of principle.

The Hu Na affair, in stalemate for 8 months, has finally take a sudden turn, finally cleared itself, and ended as a case of "political asylum."

This result was not unexpected. Beijing's indignation, protest, and retaliation as well as the covert laughter and exultation of Taiwan and America's extreme right wing faction were even less unexpected.

The lingering effect and profound influence are no doubt expected. What is past is past, but we wish that China's policy-making echelons will draw a lesson from it. They should rationally and painstakingly strive to study and understand the enemy themselves. Foregoing winning through resourcefulness and acting foolhardy is not the best military strategy.

Beijing Committed a Serious Conceptual Error

Strategically, Beijing's diplomatic authorities from beginning to end committed a serious conceptual error. They overlooked one immutable premise, which was that under any circumstances it would have been absolutely impossible to expect Washington to send Hu Na back to her country. Even Mondale, vice president during the Carter era, on 6 April offered belated advice: "The decision on asylum has been delayed too long."

It is not fair to say that America does not place enough importance on Sino-American diplomatic relations and mutual benefits. Both sides have compromised through discussion on every negotiable aspect of the affair, but the question of whether or not Hu Na is repatriated is an important question of

principle, and an American domestic principle. It certainly should not be equated with the question of friendship between the two countries.

A little reading, and a brief look at American history will enable one to understand the value of the term "human rights" in the minds of Americans. They believe that human rights transcend the sovereignty of nations, and that people have the freedom to choose whether to dwell in a place or move elsewhere. The preservation of the freedom and dignity of humanity has, ever since the United States was founded, been revered as a golden rule and precious precept, an unalterable spiritual tradition.

It is very natural that China does not trust Reagan. If another president were in office, it is also possible that Hu Na would not be sent back to China, but the affair would not have been so muddled.

Taiwan's taking advantage of loopholes in American law, the political contradiction, hiding behind the scenes, and creating traps, had doomed China's negotiations to certain failure.

It is a pity that the group of brain trusters surrounding Deng Xiaoping, fully aware of their unfavorable position, blindly and impulsively lay all their cards on the table and thus suffered bitter defeat.

Beijing's standpoint in the negotiations insisted that Hu Na was invited to the United States to take part in a competition and the United States, as host, had the obligation to "conscientiously safeguard the personal safety of the athletes."

If Reagan's predecessor had been in office, the FBI would definitely have taken measures and "Taiwan elements," no matter how penetrating, could not have done anything. Only, for a long time the situation has been that such a course of action is not possible. Taiwan's secret agents, having a good grasp of America's carelessness in this area, took advantage of the situation.

Undoubtedly, America has a "moral responsibility."

There may be some truth to the notion that Hu Na was "tricked," and finally "compelled" to defect, as the Chinese Foreign Ministry has proclaimed, and to the suggestion that the affair was brought about through the "collusion of a handful of Americans and Taiwan elements"; however, to insist on blaming the "connivance of the U.S. Government" is very much contrary to the facts.

China, for its part, simply does not understand the nature of American politics, nor does it know that the U.S. Government has no right to meddle in the activities of the common people, mass organizations, the press, and practicing lawyers. When a matter becomes highly controversial, and the situation is compounded by involving America's internal factions, the trouble-making interest groups, the government is really quite at a loss. With the addition of the emotional attachment of Reagan and his advisors to Taiwan's Nationalist Party, all the protests were in vain.

The best way of dealing with the case of Hu Na (see the article "Hu Na--Overseas Students--Political Asylum" in the November, 1982 issue of THE SEVENTIES) would have been seeking a compromise through the method of silent diplomacy, and in accordance with the principles of maintaining the amiability of saving the face of both sides. We believe that this would have been possible, and would have been an effective way of defusing the issue.

However, China did not proceed in this way. One reason they did not proceed in this way is that they overestimated themselves and underestimated the opponent. They were also handicapped by tradition.

According to the traditional sphere of consciousness of the Chinese (one would rather say that this is true of all of Oriental philosophy), one should select the lesser of two evils and, therefore, the interests of the state transcends the value of the individual. A great many examples can be adduced to illustrate this philosophy. Japan took Zhou Hongqing [6650 7703 1987] and sent him straight back. Marcos, disregarding the spirit of Philippine laws, took Yu Changcheng [0060 7022 1004] and Yu Changgeng [0060 7022 1649] and gave them as a gift to Taiwan in exchange for friendship and money. Fearing that North Korea would blame China for not being a good enough friend, Beijing preferred to sacrifice the economic advantage of trade with South Korea. Because of the protest of friendly states in Africa, Taiwan resolutely issued the order to cease the television advertisement of Black Man ["Darkie"] toothpaste.

The method of sacrificing one's own advantage for the sake of political expediency is extremely stupid. What is deplorable is that this method was all too readily applied to Sino-American relations, Sino-French relations, and Sino-Dutch relations. How can they not make terrible mistakes in assuming that the concept of cultural values of the entire world is like that of China and the Orient?

The traditional awareness has caused naivete in Chinese diplomacy. They thought all along, according to their own wishful thinking: Would America, for the sake of a little girl like Hu Na, bring the two sides into opposition, and their relations with China to a deadlock? All they had to do, they thought, was to apply pressure, and then Reagan would give in, and Hu Na would be back.

Beijing's serious protest really was effective as a deterrent; otherwise, the question of Hu Na's political asylum could not have dragged on from July of last year to spring of this year. If the affair had taken place before Sino-American relations eased, or if Hu Na had been a Soviet citizen, an East German, a Czech, or a North Korean, the case could have been settled within 3 days. The fact that the affair dragged on for 8 months without a decision clearly demonstrates one thing--Reagan gave the matter a lot of consideration. Even under the continuous pressure of the conservatives, when it comes to an important matter of principle, Reagan is very prudent.

However, Beijing misinterpreted the signal, thinking that American's hesitation was a sign of recoiling.

There Should Be a Compromise Measure

Secondly, at that particular time, China and the United States were in the process of seeking a compromise through negotiation on the arms sale issue. After the "August 17 Joint Communique," Secretary of State Shultz was planning a good-will trip to China. The Hu Na case was secondary in importance, so naturally, it was better not to have further complications.

Subconsciously, Americans were more sympathetic to Hu Na than condemning her. Even if the U.S. Government had placed the interests of the country first, an unknown lawyer could still set the world in confusion and out of the government's control.

To put it in concrete words, even if the government had wanted to send Hu Na back, while Hu Na wanted to remain it would have been sufficient grounds for an immigration lawsuit. It is common for such matters to drag on for years and years.

The compromise measure, as suggested by Richard Holbrooke (assistant secretary of state for Far Eastern and Pacific affairs under the Carter administration), would have been: in order to avoid offending the dignity of the Chinese Government, Hu Na would not have been given political asylum, nor be repatriated; she would be allowed to stay, and let time solve this difficult situation.

There are many ways for Hu Na to stay. The Congress, through a simple legal case, could drag the matter out for 2 years, and then extend it. The Immigration Department could delay Hu Na's application and handle it as a nonimmigrant case.

The calm and sensible Holbrooke is unabashedly a master of American politics who is completely the opposite of the impulsive, arrogant Reagan. As for Goldwater, Jesse Helms and the like who only recognize banknotes and not people, are not even worth mentioning.

What is regrettable is that Beijing's officials in foreign relations circles only know how to be bureaucrats and don't know diplomacy. They only can recite political dogmas but do not study the laws of adversary countries. They know how to issue forceful proclamations, but do not know how to use political strategy. When they lose, they continue to lose. They not only misjudged the situations but also made wrong use of diplomatic pressure including the following:

--Deng Xiaoping personally proposed negotiations to Secretary of State Shultz.

--Hu Na's parents asked Secretary of State Shultz to deliver food and letters to them.

--The authorities publicized Hu Na's letter from home and proposed a salary increase and a promotion.

--They guaranteed that bygones would be bygones, and also promised Hu Na to participate in this year's summer competitions in Lausanne, Switzerland.

--Little did they know how stupid it was to use Deng Xiaoping's reputation as a last trump card in diplomatic compromise. What if it did not work, there would be no leeway.

--Publishing Hu Na's letter from home was already the last trick. Who were they really trying to reach with this moving family letter? If the object was Hu Na who was isolated and, under the control of Liu Zhongyuan [0491 0022 0626] [the lawyer], would she be able to see Wen Ruying's (the mother's) handwriting?

On the American side, the pressure was increasing. Liu Zhongyuan and his behind-the-scene clique had sworn not to give up without achieving their goal.

Please look at this account by Lin Xinqin [2651 7451 3830], a reporter for the CHINA TIMES: "On 10 March of this year during the time when the U.S. Government was deliberating on the Hu Na case, attorney Liu Zhongyuan had to come up with another trick. He took Hu Na to Washington to visit some senators, in the hope that a few human rights supporters among the senators would say something on her behalf. Although Hu Na did not wish to make a public appearance, for the sake of her own future, she had no choice but to engage in a little public relations activity. This had an extremely good result, and Representative Solarz and Senator Lantos [sic: representative] both felt that Hu Na's chances of winning were very good. On 28 March Hu Na was again interviewed by ABC's evening news. As soon as the lovely Hu Na appeared on the florescent screen to personally tell the story of her seeking freedom. She immediately won the sympathy of the American audience. It was reported that following the TV broadcast, the White House received many phone calls and cables asking to adopt Hu Na, and hoping that President Reagan would uphold justice and allow Hu Na to remain in America."

Lin Xinqin undoubtedly oversimplified the matter. Liu Zhongyuan was just like Paul Newman in the film "Verdict." His performance in directing and acting at the same time was a play of unequalled excellence. He created a public-opinion offensive, and gave Reagan something to work on.

Liu Zhongyuan Created a Public Opinion Offensive

Many American lawyers love money as dearly as life. Through sophistry, they can represent a homicidal murderer as having acted in "self-defense" or being "mentally incompetent." So there is nothing at all strange about them playing tricks in the case of Hu Na. In any case, China is the accused, and Hu Na is the underling, an underaged girl who is not proficient in English, who can't be anything but a marionette manipulated by others.

Zhongyuan's tactic was very effective, as expected. The WASHINGTON POST, WALL STREET JOURNAL, and LOS ANGELES TIMES echoed one another, as if everyone were kind-hearted, merciful defenders of traditional morality. No one was concerned about the cry for upholding principles to maintain the cordial relations between the two countries.

America's press is fond of making sensation, and fond of making something out of nothing; just as Hu Yaobang said, they have the visage of superhegemonists.

The peak was reached with the ABCs talk show "Night Line." The host, Koppel, was neutral on the surface, while in actuality all of the guests invited to the show were the escort force of Taiwan except Halbrooke who was sober amidst all the drunkards. But those who are sober are isolated.

During the last week of March, the news focus was entirely on Hu Na. Liu Zhongyuan's ruse made it look like that if the matter delayed further, Hu Na would be trapped in a hopeless desperation.

The news came from Washington that there were internal serious differences of opinion, but Smith, head of the Justice Department, strongly hinted that it was going to be approved.

In the past, Smith was Reagan's personal legal advisor, an expert at helping Reagan evade taxes. Naturally, both Reagan and Smith breathed out of the same nostril--what Smith willed was what Reagan willed.

As it was understood, Reagan at that time had already made up his mind. Hu Na's visit to Washington and Smith's ruling had no bearing on the case. Reagan, started out as an actor, has not forgotten to act as a politician. Hu Na's trip could serve as a smoke screen, and could also be regarded as an act off the stage. Now, he can say openly that they really had no choice but granting political asylum to Hu Na, that it was the people's will.

How is one to know that the "many telephone calls and cables to the White House" were not sent by agents of Taiwan? As for the "people's will," it can be guided by the machinery of state, and public opinion can be created. It depends on how you judge the response.

America's reasoning was extremely far-fetched.

According to today's UPI news, when conservative fundraiser Richard Wakely phoned to request political asylum for Hu Na, Reagan said, "Richard, before she's sent back, I am willing to adopt her myself."

There can be no clearer illustration of Reagan's psychology. America's political advantage could never be as important as his campaign contributions. Old friends in Taiwan and the victorious mood of a group of American right-wingers evidently are more of his concern.

On the morning of 4 April, just as soon as House Speaker O'Neill and his group had left Chinese soil, the State Department impatiently announced that Hu Na had been given political asylum. The reason: they feared that if Hu returned she would be subject to political persecution.

The far-fetchedness of this reasoning is a laughing matter. MING PAO's editorial "Comments on the Hu Na Affair" stated very clearly, "Hu Na has certainly not yet been politically harmed, yet they give her asylum on the

grounds that she is suffering from political persecution, thus changing an ordinary illegal immigration matter into a political affair"; it is clearly not a political affair, and insisting on adding the name of 'political asylum' was the major mistake of the American authorities."

Whether it was a mistake or not, few people bothered to ask. The nationwide news media vied with each other and made Hu Na an overnight American hero. Hu Na was the headline of broadcasting, television, evening papers, and the following day's morning paper.

The fashionably-dressed Hu Na was no longer the simple, country girl from Sichuan of last year. Her appearance on the national TV network, got her a great deal of publicity. However, being unable to speak English, she revealed facial perplexity in spite of her happy smiles.

A number of personages who had made effort on Hu Na's behalf emerged one by one to loudly support Reagan. This group of people included watch-snatcher Richard Allen, and columnist George Will. Important matters like El Salvador, unemployment rate, and the defense budget, however, were left behind.

As for Taiwan's reaction, the authorities kept silent, while popular newspapers wildly published articles giving an impression as if the Nationalist troops had landed in Shantou [7073 7333].

Beijing's strong reaction, as a revenge, was the Ministry of Culture's decision to stop this year's eight-item cultural exchange program.

The note of Han Xu [7281 0650], deputy foreign minister, stated, "This action of the U.S. Government not only has no firm legal basis, it is also morally blameworthy." The note pointed out at the same time, "The United States has unceasingly perpetrated instances that infringed on China's sovereignty, interfered in its internal affairs, and hurt the feelings of the Chinese people. The unreasonable decision on the Hu Na incident is another example of this kind of activity." Even America itself cannot deny that for many years it has "violated Chinese sovereignty, interfered in Chinese internal affairs, and hurt the feelings of the Chinese people." It treated Beijing this way, its attitude towards Taiwan was no exception. The CIA flagrantly got Peng Ming-min [1756 2494 2404] out of Taiwan and sent him to Sweden. The Hu Na affair compared with this seems quite dwarfed.

In the wake of the Hu Na case, the Justice Department issued a statement on the 6th that "Hu Na's political asylum cannot be used as a pattern in similar cases involving other Chinese students." Does it mean that Hu Na would be subject to political persecution if she returned while others would not?

An American lawyer expressed it well, "If you want to qualify for political asylum, you have to be good at ballet or tennis."

Former secretary of state Kissinger's remark, "This is developing in a dangerous direction," is worthy of careful consideration by the American authorities!

8 April in San Francisco

9634

CSO: 4005/841

HONG KONG MEDIA ON CHINA

HONK KONG FORMER UK OFFICIAL OPTIMISTIC OVER TALKS

HK290136 Hong Kong SOUTH CHINA MORNING POST in English 29 Jul 83 pp 1, 14

[Article by Donald Cheung]

[Text] An outline agreement on the future of Hong Kong is expected to be reached by British and Chinese negotiators by the end of this year.

This is the view of Lord Chalfont, the former minister of state at the British Foreign Office.

Lord Chalfont said before he left Hong Kong last night that he believed next week's meeting in Beijing is probably "an essential step" towards the resumption of talks in September when he would expect some firm decisions to be made.

"I would certainly judge from everything I have heard that by the time the September session of the talks is over very considerable progress would have been made," he said.

He said a final agreement was likely to represent concessions by the British on sovereignty and by the Chinese on administration.

Saying that the present talks give every cause for "considerable optimism," Lord Chalfont added that it seemed both sides were anxious to make certain compromises which were essential for a final solution.

His optimism stemmed from the confidentiality surrounding the talks, which he regards as a good sign.

"My experience of negotiations of this kind is that when people think that things are not going well they tend to leak stories to the press to boost their own negotiating position," he said.

He said the Hong Kong problem was one which must have a solution--and quickly.

A transitional period for Hong Kong is envisaged by Lord Chalfont, which he thinks will provide "an orderly move" from the present situation to whatever the final agreement brings.

"There's got to be a transitional period in which all new arrangements will gradually be implemented. This is not something that is going to happen overnight," he said.

The British security forces, he feels, are unlikely to stay in Hong Kong in their present form after 1997.

"I would have thought probably when that stage (an agreement) is reached, the presence of British forces would no longer be appropriate," he said.

Cautioning that it is unwise to look too far ahead, Lord Chalfont said his opinion is that the British Government wants to make sure Hong Kong remains a prosperous community with a stable political and economic system, including having its own convertible currency.

"They (Britain) will be looking for transitional measures which will ensure if there is any change of sovereignty in Hong Kong the administration remains firm and capable of keeping Hong Kong in that state," he said.

He did not think that changes in the composition of the negotiating teams will have any effect on the substance of the talks, saying that it is understandable for individual negotiators to go on holiday.

The Chinese side, he believed, apparently has accepted the changes--referring to the absence next week of Hong Kong's political adviser, Mr Robin McLaren, who is taking leave in Britain until early September.

"If they were worried about the changes, they would presumably prefer to have a recess in the talks," Lord Chalfont said.

"Even while (negotiating) members might be on leave, there are still important things to discuss and important decisions to be made," he said.

The former diplomat would not commit himself when asked if he would expect the new foreign office minister with special responsibilities for Hong Kong, Mr Richard Luce, to take part in September's talks.

However, he added: "It would not surprise me if at some stage of negotiations a British minister came out here because after all when these negotiations arrive at a successful conclusion they will represent very important political decisions on the parts of both government."

He also gave his interpretation of the diplomatic language used in the joint communique issued at the conclusion of the most recent round of talks.

"The code being used is that 'don't worry' means everything is moving along," he said.

He believed that both governments were taking a "firm but flexible" position on the talks and added that the views of the people of Hong Kong were being taken into account.

He saw the reaction of the Chinese to the remark by the Governor, Sir Edward Youde, that he will represent the interest of Hong Kong people in the talks as simply "a matter of protocol."

While acknowledging the concern of local people over the territory's future, he said Hong Kong people are "much too worried."

"In the long term, for the future of Hong Kong, I feel that the signs are very good indeed," he said.

Turning to a regional perspective, his impression is that regional politicians are interested in, but not worried by, the 1997 issue.

"I think everyone in the region recognises that there is a common interest in arriving at a compromise and an intelligent solution and certainly all regional politicians that I have talked to quite expect that to happen," he said.

CSO: 4000/217

CHALFONT EXPECTS UK-PRC PACT NEXT YEAR

HK290654 Hong Kong HSING TAO JIH PAO in Chinese 29 Jul 83 p 1

[Report: "British Defense Committee Chairman Reveals That on the Basis of the Progress of the Negotiations, China and Britain Can Reach an Agreement in 1984"]

[Excerpts] The talks between China and Britain on Hong Kong's future have made inspiring headway, and it is expected that an outline agreement on the future of Hong Kong will be reached by the middle of next year, Lord Chalfont, chairman of the Defense Committee of the British Parliament, said yesterday.

Lord Chalfont, who is also former minister of state at the British Foreign Office, made comments on the progress of the second-phase Sino-British talks on the future of Hong Kong at a personal press conference held in the Mandarin Hotel yesterday.

Lord Chalfont said: The sovereignty issue is no longer a stumbling block. The British Government is aware that Britain has to give up sovereignty over the New Territories, but it will not make an unconditional concession in the sovereignty issue.

The British position is to reach an agreement with China on setting up an effective and stable administrative structure so as to ensure that Hong Kong will maintain economic relations with Britain under Chinese sovereignty and that Hong Kong will continue to have its independent currency, and people in Hong Kong can continue to enjoy their existing standards of living.

He said that he was optimistic about the progress of the talks according to everything he had heard, and he is confident that the final results of the talks will satisfy both China and Britain, and of course, the interests of Hong Kong will not be neglected.

As for the latest round of the second-phase Sino-British talks, which both sides regarded as "useful," Lord Chalfont said that the word "useful" indicated that the talks were making headway and there is no need for any worry at present.

As for China's reaction to the role of the Governor, Sir Edward Youde, in the talks, Lord Chalfont said that the Governor simply stated a fact, but the Chinese side held that they were not talking with a Hong Kong governor but with the British Government.

He pointed out that the Legislative Council was quite reasonable in deciding to remove the colonial references from documents and substituting them with Hong Kong and other words when that body discussed the revision of the conference procedure law on Wednesday, but this is sheerly coincidental to the Sino-British talks which are under way.

He said: Decolonialization is a normal process, and people have clearly realized that words like "colony" and "colonial" are no longer suited to Hong Kong.

CSO: 4005/1039

END